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ABSTRACT

Five papers on applied linguistics in educational contexts are presented. "What Can Second Language Learners Learn from Each Other? Only Their Researcher Knows for Sure" (Teresa Pica, Felicia Lincoln-Porter, Diana Paninos, Julian Linnell) presents further research on interaction and negotiation among language learners. "Collaborative Effort Between Nonnative English Speakers: A Difference in Strategies" (Karen Carrier) reports research applying a theoretical framework of contrastive pragmatics to pairs of language learners. In "Shifting Gender Roles in the Acculturation Process" (Daryl Gordon), analysis of interviews with recent Laotian immigrants to the United States illustrates changes in women's roles in the wife-husband and mother-child relationships. "The Universality of Face in Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory: A Japanese Perspective" (Peter Longcope) examines recent research on politeness strategies in Japanese within the framework of a 1978 theory of politeness. In "Learning Grammar in the United States: A Case of Japanese Students" (Toshiyo Nabei), a study of Japanese university students' perceptions of American grammar instruction is reported. (MSE)

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From the Editor:

We are pleased to bring you the latest issue of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*. In this issue you will find a collection of articles addressing a wide range of issues in this field:

•In the opening article, Teresa Pica, Felicia Lincoln-Porter, Diana Paninos, and Julian Linnell present further study on the question of interaction and negotiation among language learners.

•Karen Carrier applies Oleksy's framework of contrastive pragmatics to pairs of language learners using Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' referring task.

•Daryl Gordon shows how acculturation affects gender roles by analyzing speech acts performed by a recent Laotian immigrant to the United States.

•Peter Longcope provides an update on the universality of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

•Toshiyo Nabei explores Japanese students' attitudes toward the teaching of grammar in an American setting.

We are delighted to offer these works for the first time in our new format. This change has been long overdue, and we would like to thank the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education and Rocco Camilli for allowing us to realize this goal. We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Acting Dean Nancy Hornberger, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Frank Kodman, William Brickman, and Lawrence Warner.

Leslie K. Nabors,
Editor-in-Chief

What Can Second Language Learners Learn from Each Other? Only their Researcher Knows for Sure

Teresa Pica, Felicia Lincoln-Porter, Diana Paninos, and Julian Linnell

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This study asked whether second language (L2) learners' interaction with other learners can adrdress three of their theoretical needs for L2 learning in ways that interaction with native speakers (NSs) has been shown to do, i.e., the need for L2 input modified toward comprehensibility, for feedback focused on form, and for modification of output. To address this question, the interaction of five dyads of English L2 learners was compared with that of five dyads of learners and English NSs on two communication tasks. Results of the comparison revealed similarities in the types of modified input and feedback the learners were offered from other learners and NSs in their respective dyads and in both the type and amount of output modifications they produced. Differences were found in the amount of modified input the learners were provided, with less modified input from other learners than from NSs. The study thus indicated that interaction between L2 learners can address some of their input, feedback, and output needs, but that it does not provide as much modified input and feedback as interaction with NSs.

It has long been believed that participation in verbal interaction offers language learners the opportunity both to follow up on new words and structures to which they have been exposed during language lessons, and to practice them in context. Indeed, many traditional as well as current teaching methods and materials reflect this point of view; see, for example, overviews by Brown (1994), Richards and Rodgers (1986), and Savignon (1983). In addition, there is a growing body of evidence that participation in interaction

can play an even broader and more theoretically important role in the learning process. Such participation does so by assisting language learners in their need to obtain input and feedback that can be linguistic data for grammar building. Interaction also assists learners in modifying and adjusting their output in ways that expand their current interlanguage capacity. (Hatch 1978a, 1978b; Long 1983, 1985, 1991; Pica 1991; Schachter 1983, 1984, 1986, 1991; Swain 1985). Much of this evidence has come from studies of second language (L2) learners engaged in interaction with native speakers (NSs).[1]

For many L2 learners, however, opportunities for either extensive interaction with NSs are all too infrequent, and often simply unavailable. This is especially so for learners in foreign language contexts, where classrooms of non-native speaking teachers and other L2 learners are the basis for most of their interaction. Even when NS teachers are available, if small group and pair work, role plays, and discussion are emphasized in the curriculum, then learners experience greater verbal contact with each other than with their teachers for much of class time (Wong-Fillmore 1992). Further restrictions on interactions with NSs can be found across educational settings when L2 learners are required to use a language at school that is different from languages spoken in their home and community. If these learners outnumber those who speak the school language with native or near-native mastery, it is the learners who become each other's principal interlocutors in the classroom.

Thus, across a wide range of settings, including second and foreign language classrooms and classrooms oriented toward more gen-

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[1]This article was written while the senior author was Ethel G. Carruth Associate Professor of Education and while Lincoln-Porter and Paninos were U.S. Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs Title VII Doctoral Fellows.

eral educational pursuits, language learners enter into interactions with each other on a daily basis, and are thus frequently and increasingly each other's resource for language learning. How does learners' interaction with other learners affect their learning? Is it helpful for certain aspects of learning, but not others? Is it of little, or any, consequence at all? Some preliminary answers to these questions are suggested by the present study on learner interaction, which itself was motivated by a series of recent studies on L2 interaction and on a particular variety of interaction known as negotiation.

Interaction, Negotiation, and L2 Learning

While almost any experience that engages learners in meaningful interaction is believed to promote opportunities for L2 learning, research has shown that when interaction is modified through negotiation, such opportunities are increased and enhanced considerably. (Long 1980, 1983, 1985; Pica, Young, & Doughty 1987; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, & Morgenthaler 1989; Pica, Lewis, & Holliday 1990; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, & Newman 1991; see also Pica 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994, in press). Negotiation between learners and interlocutors takes place during the course of their interaction when either one signals with questions or comments that the other's preceding message has not been successfully conveyed. The other then responds, often by repeating the message or by uttering a modified version. This latter might take the form of a word or phrase extracted from the original message utterance, a paraphrase, or a synonym substitution thereof.

The processes and outcomes of negotiation and the opportunities it can provide for L2 learning are illustrated in Excerpts (1) through (3), as English L2 learners and English NSs took turns

describing pictures for each other to draw or select.[2] In (1), for example, the learner interrupted the NS description of a drawing to signal with a question about *chimney* (signals are italized in the examples). The NS responded by segmenting *chimney* from the prepositional phrase, *with a big chimney*, and then incorporating *chimney* into a statement which described one of its features. The learner was then able to draw a chimney. From the learner's reaction, it would appear that the NS follow-up response on *chimney* made this message more comprehensible. The NS response also showed the learner that *chimney* could function as both object of the preposition *with* and subject of the utterance, *chimney is where the smoke comes out of* (reponses are bolded in the examples). In this way, negotiation offered L2 input which segmented *chimney* from prior utterances of both learner and NS highlighted its meaning, form, and use in context.

(1)

Learner	**NS Interlocutor:**
	okay, with a big chimney
what is chimney? (signal)	**chimney is where the smoke comes out of** (response)
OK	

(Pica, in press)

In (2) the NS also modified a prior message, but here, the modification was made to what the learner had said, i.e., *you mean the trees have branches?*. The NS signal segmented *tree* from the learner's initial utterance, then added a plural *-s* morpheme and substituted *branches* for *stick*. In so doing, the NS not only confirmed the learner's original message, but also displayed to the learner a morphologically and lexically modified version which showed greater conformity to the standard variety of English which was the learner's presumed target.

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[2]The data for these transcripts come from studies reported on in Pica et al. (1989), Pica et al. (1990), and Pica et al. (1991) and have also been discussed in Pica (1990, 1992a, 1992b, Pica 1993, Pica, 1994, and Pica in press).

(2)

Learner:	**NS Interlocutor:**
and tree with stick	*you mean the trees have branches?* (signal)
yes (response)	

(Pica 1992a; Pica 1994: 515)

Finally, as shown in (3), negotiation with NSs can offer learners a speaking context in which they too can manipulate and modify their messages toward greater comprehensibility. Simple clarification requests and signals from the NS such as *what?* or *you did what?* have been found to be particularly effective. (Holliday 1987, 1988; Pica 1987; Pica et al. 1989; Pica et al. 1991). Thus, in (3), the learner responded to the NS question, *you have what?* by segmenting *glass* from his initial utterance, and then clarified its pronunciation as *grass* and added to its meaning the related lexical item, *plants*.

(3)

Learner:	**NS Interlocutor:**
around the house we have glass	*you have what?* (signal)
uh grass, plants and grass (response)	

(Pica 1992a)

Learner Interaction and Language Learning: Research Issues and Questions

The signal and response utterances of negotiation in Excerpts (1) through (3) modify prior utterances by retaining or extending their meaning and repeating or reshaping their form. They illustrate some of the ways in which learners' negotiation with NSs is believed to have considerable theoretical significance for their L2 learning. NS responses to learner signals are rich in lexical and structural modifications that not only enhance message comprehensibility, but also serve as input on L2 form and meaning. NS signals offer feedback to learners ranging from open queries about their prior utterances to modified versions thereof, and these can be used by learners to modify their output.

As noted above, however, many learners have little opportunity to interact or to engage in topics that promote negotiation with with NSs. Instead, they often find themselves involved in learner-to-learner communication, using whatever L2 resources they have in order to do so.[3] Yet research on learner-to-learner interaction has shown that learners do indeed negotiate when given the opportunity to do so, often with greater frequency and elaboration than they do with NSs. (Porter 1983, 1986; Gass & Varonis 1985). Thus, in order to address the possible ways in which learners' negotiation with other learners might contribute to their learning, the present study set up situations which might promote negotiation, then posed questions about the extent to which learners' negotiation might play a role in assisting each others' input, feedback, and output needs. These questions were informed initially by previous research on learners as negotiators, which led to six predictions, to be described below.

L2 Learners as Negotiators: Research Findings as Predictors for L2 Learning

In the next section we review studies on input, feedback, and output. Predictions with respect to learning will be made within each review.

Input Studies and Predictions:

Do learners' responses during learner-learner negotiation provide input that is similar to that available in learner-NS negotiation? Stud-

[3]All L2 learners are NNSs of the L2 they are learning. Not all NNSs, however, are L2 learners. Included here would be those who have completed their formal study and no longer consider themselves to be in the process of acquiring an L2. It also includes fossilized speakers of stabilized interlanguage varieties. Since the subjects in the present study were all enrolled in English L2 classes and presumably making progress in their learning, we use both learners and NNSs to refer to them. Our exclusive use of NNSs in discussions of research which has informed our study reflects conventions of the literature in which this research has been published, as it is likely that the NNS subjects in this research were L2 learners as well.

ies on learner-NS negotiation (Pica et al. 1989; Pica et al. 1990; Pica et al. 1991; Pica 1992b) have provided considerable evidence that when learners negotiate with NSs, both the learners and the NSs respond to each other's signals with the kinds of lexical and structural modifications that can assist L2 learning processes. However, learners have been shown to differ from NSs in ways that might bear on their ability to assist each other's input needs during learner-learner negotiation.

First, with respect to amount of modification, learners have been found to produce much less modification of prior utterances in response to NS negotiation signals than NSs produce in response to learner signals. In Pica et al. (1990) and Pica (1992a, 1992b), learners modified 40 % of their prior utterances, as compared to 70 % on the part of NSs, whereas learners, on the whole, restricted their modified responses to instances of NS signals which were open clarification questions such as *what?* or *could you repeat that?* These clarification questions were much less frequent than closed signals where learners' prior utterances had been modified by the NSs. Further, when NS signals were modified versions of learners' prior utterances, the learners did not respond with yet another modification, but instead, used expressions such as *OK*, *all right*, variants of *yes* or *yeah*, or simply said *no*.

On the other hand, when NSs responded to learner signals, they very typically did so with additional modification regardless of whether learner signals were open queries or modified versions of their original message. Thus, as was shown in (1), the NS response to the learner's *what is chimney?* was a modified version of the original utterance, whereas in (2), the learner's response to the NS's *you mean the trees have branches?* was a simple *yes*. This difference between learner and NS responses is important because if learners'

suppliance of modified input in their responses to other learners is as restricted as it has been shown to be in their responses to NSs, the modified input they might contribute to each other's learning will not be as readily available as the modified input from NSs.

A second difference between learners and NSs as input providers has been found in the proportional distribution of modification types across their responses to NS signals. Although the learners modified their responses in a variety of ways, both lexically and structurally, their predominant manner of modification was to repeat an isolated word or phrase from a prior utterance, through a form of modification we have referred to as "segmentation," based on Peters (1977, 1980, 1985; see also Pica 1992a, 1992b, 1994; Pica, et al. 1990). Such segmentations were also evident among the NSs, but were complemented by a wide range of other modifications involving lexical substitution and paraphrase. This difference can be seen by comparing the learner response in (4) with that of the NS in (1). In (4), the learner segmented *glass* from preceding utterances whereas in (1), the NS defined and described the previous utterance of *chimney*.

(4)

Learner	**NS Interlocutor**
next to the notebook there is there is a pen	uhuh
and next to the pen there is a glass	*does the glass have anything in it?* *does the glass have anything in it?* *glass? glass? oh glasses?* (signals) *oh glasses?* (signal)
glass (response) **glasses glasses** (response)	

(Pica 1993: 443)

This excerpt highlights one of the key differences between learners and NSs with respect to the functional range of modifications in

their responses as input for each other's learning. Segmentation, as learners' predominant type of modification type with NSs, can extract content words from prior utterances for isolation or incorporation into a follow-up response. However, segmentation does not relate these content words to new and alternate encodings. To accomplish that, lexical modifications such as paraphrase, description, and exemplification are needed. Thus, in our studies of learners and NSs, we found that the learners appeared to be more limited than NSs in the relating L2 form and meaning.

These findings led to the first two predictions of the study. We hypothesized that learners would provide less modified input than NSs in their responses to other learners' signals of negotiation. Further, we hypothesized that the modifications in their responses would be less evenly distributed than those of NSs with respect to modification type, such that the learners would segment individual words and phrases from their prior utterances more often than they would provide other modifications such as lexical substitution and paraphrase.

A final, and perhaps all too obvious, difference between learners and NSs as providers of modified input concerned the "grammaticality" of their responses. We did not make predictions as to the conformity of learner versus NS responses with respect to rules of L2 morphosyntax, as we were quite certain that such rules would be followed less frequently in the responses of learners. Indeed, the linguistic inadequacies of learners' interlanguage as a source of L2 input have been described elsewhere, and have been held to account for incomplete L2 development in immersion and bilingual classrooms where learners have limited contact with NSs and work with each other most of the time. (Lightbown 1992; Lightbown & Spada 1991; Plann 1975; Porter 1983, 1986; and Wong-Fillmore 1992).

Within this context, therefore, we focused on possible differences among the learners' response types as a source of grammatical input for language learning. We believed it was important to know if certain types of response utterances might conform more to features of L2 morphosyntax, and therefore perhaps be more useful as input for L2 learning.

It was this latter possibility that led to the third hypothesis of the study. We predicted that learner responses that were simple extractions or segmentations of their prior utterances would conform more to L2 morphosyntax than responses characterized by other modification types.[4] This hypothesis was based on our observations regarding the brevity and simplicity of segmentation as a type of modification, compared to lexical and structural adjustments such as paraphrase, embedding, or relocation of utterance constituents. We believed that in extracting a single word or short phrase from a preceding utterance, then uttering it in isolation, learners would be more likely to reproduce this with L2 morphosyntax than if they attempted to substitute new words for it or to incorporate it into a more grammatically complex response. These three hypotheses on input form only a subset of the predictions of this study; other predictions were based on feedback and output studies. It is this work that we next refer to.

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[4]This hypothesis about learner responses addressed their "conformity to L2 syntax," rather than their "grammaticality" because of the well established view on interlanguages as rule-governed, predictably variable, and "systematic". See early works by Nemser (1971), Selinker (1972), Tarone (1982), for example, as well as an overview in Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991). Such a view implies that interlanguages have a grammar, even though not all of the rules and forms of this grammar conform to those of an L2 target. Thus, in shaping our final hypothesis about learner responses as input for L2 learning, our prediction was made, not with respect to the grammaticality of utterances generated by the learner's interlanguage system, but rather, in terms of the conformity of these utterances to those of the L2.

Feedback Studies and Predictions

Do learners' signals to each other during learner-learner negotiation provide the kinds of feedback available in learner-NS negotiation? That learners can be active feedback providers to other learners has been documented in a number of studies on learner interaction. Thus, Bruton and Samuda (1980) found that learners working together in the classroom made numerous correction moves. Similar patterns have also been revealed in conversations of L2 learners, as studies by Gass and Varonis (1985, 1989), Pica and Doughty (1985a, 1985b), and Porter (1983, 1986), have located many instances of learners calling attention to each other's errors as they negotiated toward comprehensibility of message meaning. Learners not only call attention to each others' errors, but they usually do this without miscorrection as observed in a variety of contexts of peer feedback (Rodgers 1988; Jacobs 1989). These maneuvers on the part of learners could be regarded as an implicit rather than an explicit form of correction.

For the present research, therefore, it was assumed that learner signals could serve to alert other learners as to the comprehensibility of their message utterances as well as the conformity of such utterances to L2 morphosyntax. Of concern for hypothesis testing, however, was the extent to which learner signals were actually encoded with L2 morphosyntax, and therefore might provide data for L2 learning. Here, again, our hypotheses were informed by our earlier studies on learners' use of segmentation as a type of modification in their negotiation with NSs. (Pica et al. 1990; see also Pica 1992a, 1992b, 1994). Based on these studies, we predicted that learners' signals which simply extracted single words or phrases from each other's prior utterances would outnumber their signals that modified these prior utterances in other ways. For example, signals can modify ut-

terances through lexical adjustments of paraphrase and word substitution or through structural changes of embedding or relocation of prior utterance constituents. Continuing with the reasoning of our third hypothesis, on the grammaticality of learner responses as modified input, we also hypothesized that as a type of modification, learner signals that were simple structural segmentations of each other's prior utterances would conform more to L2 morphosyntax than their signals characterized by other modification types.

Output Studies and Predictions

Do learners modify their output when they participate in learner-to-learner negotiation? Research has revealed that learners are able to adjust and expand their original utterances when they respond to negotiation signals from NSs. (Pica 1989; Pica 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994, in press; Pica et al. 1990; Pica et al. 1991). That learners can have a comparable effect on each other's production has also been demonstrated in several of the studies noted above, among them, Bruton and Samuda (1980), Gass and Varonis (1989), Pica and Doughty (1985a, 1985b), and Porter (1983, 1986). These studies, though few in number, do suggest that, as learners interact among themselves, they provide each other with opportunities to modify their output toward conformity to L2 morphosyntax.

This pattern led to a prediction for the present study that learners would modify their production as they negotiated among each other as they have been shown to do during their negotiation with NSs. The hypotheses which followed, however, went beyond acknowledgment that learners would be able to modify their output during negotiation with each other. These hypotheses also took into account what studies of learner-NS negotiation had revealed about the effect of signal type on the modification process. (Holliday 1987, 1988; Pica 1987; Pica et al. 1989; Pica et al. 1991).

First, it should be noted that our previous research revealed few differences in the distribution of signal types across learners and NSs. Thus, of the learner signals we studied in learner-NS negotiation, close to 88 % of them repeated or modified their interlocutor's prior utterance while 12 % offered simple, open-ended questions and requests for greater message comprehensibility such as *what?* or *please repeat*. These figures were almost identical for NS signals to the learners. However, as noted above, our studies showed differences between our learners and the NSs in the responses they gave to each other's signals. NS use of modification was pervasive across their responses to learner signals, whereas learner modification was contingent on the way in which the NS signal was encoded.

Thus, when NS signals were open-ended, the learners in those studies responded with modified versions of their prior utterances. However, when NS signals modified learners' prior utterances and offered them L2 models, the learners responded with*yes* or *no*, seldom with yet another modification of their own. Thus, as in (2), the learner simply said *yes* when the NS signal (here, *you mean the trees have branches?*) took the form of a modification of an original utterance (in this case, *and tree with stick*), but in exchanges such as that of (4), the learner produced an elaborated response when asked the more open-ended *you have what?* Why did the learners in our studies modify their prior utterances much more often in response to open question signals than to signals which themselves supplied a modified version of a prior utterance? There were a number of possible explanations for these results.

One explanation of these modifications was related to the redundancy that the learners would have introduced by providing yet another modification to their original message. It was possible that the learners may have believed it communicatively unnecessary for them

to further modify those NS signals which themselves offered a modified version of their prior utterances. A second possible explanation was related to the perceived L2 expertise of learners and NSs as negotiators. The learners might have regarded the NSs as L2 experts and, therefore, seen little reason to attempt yet another modification of their output. This explanation followed from our first, i.e., that learners perceived that further modification on their parts was not needed for comprehensibility of their message once the NSs had recoded it for them. Finally, the differential moves toward modification in learner and NS responses may have been due to the learners' relative lack of linguistic resources in this area. There was thus the possibility that, even if they had wanted to do so, the learners were unable to provide yet another modification because of either a limitation on their current L2 knowledge or an inability to formulate a modification spontaneously within the time demands of their negotiation.

These possible explanations for the output modification in learners' responses resulted in our final two hypotheses. Based on our earlier research on learners' negotiation with NSs, we predicted that learners' modified signals would not be any more effective than those of NSs in drawing forth modification of output from other learners, this due to learners' perceptions about their lack of need for further modification and/or their lack of linguistic resources for providing further modification. We predicted, therefore, that when learners were given signals from other learners that modified their previous utterances, the percentage of modified output in their responses would not differ from that in their responses to NSs.

On the other hand, the mutual lack of L2 expertise among learners made for the possibility that they would be more effective than NSs in drawing forth linguistic modifications from each other. This

is plausible because the learners would perceive that each other's signals were offered to get them to make their messages more comprehensible, but not that the signals were offered as models of how this should be done. Thus, our final hypothesis was that when learners were given signals from other learners that modified their previous utterances, the percentage of modified output in their responses would be greater than that in their responses to native speakers.

Research Methodology

Subjects

The subjects for the study, all adult male volunteers, were thirty learners and ten NSs of English. Twenty of the learners were paired into one of ten dyads of learner-to-learner interactants and ten were assigned to ten NS-learner dyads. The learners were Japanese L1 speakers, enrolled in preacademic, low- intermediate level classes at university-based English language programs. Their mean TOEFL scores were in the 400-500 range. The NSs were college-educated speakers of standard English. Their assignment into dyads was based primarily on their availability for participation in the study. Since availability of many of the subjects was constrained by their school schedules, the dyads could not be assembled on the basis of random assignment.

Data Collection Procedures

Each subject dyad participated in a series of communication tasks, one of which was created for the present study, and the others were adapted from tasks used in previous, related studies (See, for example, Futaba 1993, Holliday 1993, Lewis 1993, Pica et al. 1990, Pica et al. 1991). A researcher introduced the subject dyads to each other, reviewed instructions for taping, then left them to work independently. An initial task was used as a warm-up activity whereby

subjects could become familiar with each other linguistically and socially. This was followed by two experimental tasks, known popularly as jig-saw tasks and described below, that gave each subject potentially equal control over the information needed to carry out the tasks. The subjects were required to exchange this information with each other in order to execute the task successfully. See Doughty & Pica (1986) and Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun (1992) for a review of these and other tasks.

Based on previous research on task interaction, (Pica et al. 1992), it was believed that jig-saw tasks would provide a context for learners to negotiate with NSs and with each other in ways that could inform the questions underlying our study. It was also believed, following work of Damon and Phelps (1989), for example, that the research tasks would allow for co-construction of meaning among our language learner "novices," and thereby enable them to manipulate their output to a greater degree than in other types of groups in which knowledge is less equally distributed.

The first jig-saw task for five NS-learner dyads and five learner-learner dyads was to reproduce an unseen sequence of pictures of houses by exchanging verbal descriptions of their own uniquely held portions of the sequence. This "house sequence" task was described in Pica et al. (1989). The jig-saw task for the remaining five dyads of learner-learner and learner-NS dyads was to compose a single story based on individually held pictures from the story line of "The Uninvited Visitor," a story created for research purposes. Here, a woman forgot that she had turned on her gas stove as she proceeded to answer her door and sat down to a conversation with an unexpected guest. This "story task" focused on the sequencing of activities in the story and the foregrounding and backgrounding of story details.

As jig-saw tasks, both tasks were comparable in their interactional

structure and in their distribution of information within the dyads. In addition, each dyad member was given the same number of pictures to describe. Within each task, the pictures themselves followed a similar format. There were comparably constructed houses in each of the "house sequence" pictures and the same story characters throughout the "story" task pictures. For both tasks, a screen was placed between the subjects which was sufficiently high for them to be unable to see each other's pictures, but low enough to allow them to look at each other's faces.

The reason that two different jig-saw tasks were used was that it was believed that their different emphases would allow the subjects to produce a broad range of input, feedback, and output modifications during their negotiation. As such, the "house sequence" task would engage learners in describing attributes, states, and conditions in their pictures. Such description might lead to negotiation which involved names and features of objects, individuals, and contexts. The "story" task, on the other hand, with its emphasis on a sequence of events, might lead to negotiation over actions and experiences, with reference to time sequences and relationships among events.

Data Coding and Analysis

Tape-recorded conversations were coded within a slightly modified framework and categories that had been used in a series of studies (Pica 1987; Pica et al. 1989; Pica et al. 1991), where both the framework and coding categories are described in detail. In the framework used to code the present data and to describe the learner-NS Excerpts (1) - (4), inter-coder agreements ranged from .88 to 100.

Coded as lexical modifications were synonym substitution and paraphrase of all or part of prior utterances that triggered the signals and responses of a negotiation. Examples of these can be found in the discussion of Excerpts (1) through (4). Also referred to and de-

scribed in Excerpts (1) through (4) are codings for structural modification. These include simple segmentations of individual constituents such as lexical items and phrases from prior utterances, segmentation with embedding into longer phrases or more complex utterances, and segmentation with relocation of prior utterance constituents, for example, from object in a prior utterance to subject in a modified utterance. This latter type of modification had been noted in the discussion of Excerpt (1).

Hypotheses 1 through 3 focused on utterances of response. Hypothesis 1 was tested by comparing the percentage of learner utterances of response that lexically and/or structurally modified their prior utterances during learner-NS negotiation with the percentage of NS utterances of response that did likewise during learner-NS negotiation. Hypothesis 2 was tested by comparing the percentage of learner utterances of response that modified their prior utterances through simple structural segmentation during learner-learner negotiation with the percentage of NS modified utterances of response that did likewise during learner-NS negotiation. Finally, Hypothesis 3 was tested by first identifying learner response utterances that showed conformity with L2 morphosyntax and then comparing the percentage that were simple structural segmentations of learners' prior utterances with those that contained other modification types.

Hypotheses 4 through 6 focused on signal utterances. Hypothesis 4 was tested by comparing the percentage of learner signal utterances that modified their prior utterances through simple structural segmentation during learner-learner negotiation with the percentage of NS signal utterances that did likewise during learner-NS negotiation. Hypothesis 5 was tested by first identifying learner signal utterances that showed conformity to L2 morphosyntax and then comparing the percentage that were simple structural segmentations of

their prior utterances with the percentage of those that contained other modification types. Hypotheses 6 and 7 were tested by comparing the percentages of learner-modified responses that followed learner versus NS modified signal utterances during learner-learner and learner-NS negotiation.

Results and Discussion

Analysis of data and χ^2 testing of results found support for only Hypothesis 6 of the study, which had predicted that learners would not modify their output in response to other learners any more than they would in response to NSs. In addition, a trend was seen in support of Hypothesis 5, which had predicted that learner feedback signals of simple structural segmentation would show greater conformity to NS morphosyntax than their other signals.

Support was found for two other hypotheses, but not equally for both tasks used in the study. Hypothesis 1, which had predicted that learners would provide each other with less modified input than NSs, was supported on the "house sequence," but not on the "story" task. Hypothesis 4, which had predicted that learners would be given more feedback signals of simple structural segmentation from other learners than from NSs, was supported on the "story" task, with a trend toward significance on the "house sequence."

Many differences between learners and NSs as interactants, negotiators, and input providers was observed during data coding and examined in follow-up analysis. The most salient of these was the tendency among learners in the learner-learner dyads to extend each other's unfinished utterances with propositional content, either in isolation or incorporated into new structures. This pattern was also observed in the learner-NS dyads, but was not as prevalent therein. The results of hypothesis testing, observations, and follow-up analyses are discussed below.

Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3

These hypotheses addressed the relative contributions of learners compared to NSs as providers of the types of input that are considered important to L2 learning, with particular focus on the modified input offered during their responses of negotiation.

Hypothesis 1 had predicted that learners would offer each other proportionately fewer lexically and structurally modified utterances of response in their negotiation with each other compared to the NSs in learner-NS dyads. This was found to be the case for the "house sequence" task ($\chi^2 = 9.6482$, df = 1. $p < .05$). However, there was no difference between the proportions of learner versus NS modified responses on the "story" task ($\chi^2 = 0.78523$, df = 1, n.s.).

As shown in Table 1, the learners on the "house sequence" task produced 23 modified utterances of response to other learners in learner-learner dyads. These modified utterances were only 49 % of their total utterances of response. The NSs, however, produced 34 modified utterances of response to learners in the learner-NS dyads. This was 83 % of their total utterances of response. On the "story" task, as also shown in Table 1, the proportions of modified utterance of response were 57 % for the learners and 67 % for the NSs. Compared to the "house sequence" task, these figures were somewhat higher for the learners and considerably lower for NSs. These results suggest that it is not the learners that differ so much across tasks, but the NSs who do.

Hypothesis 2 had predicted that learners' responses of modified input during learner-learner negotiation would offer a greater number of structural segmentations of prior utterances, formed through isolated words and phrases, when compared to the number of NS responses of modified input during learner-NS negotiation. No support was found for this hypothesis. As shown in Table 2, both learn-

Table 1

Comparison of Learner v. NS modified utterances of response as modified input. (Hypothesis #1)

Communication Tasks	Response Type	Learner n	Learner %	NS n	NS %	Total	χ^2
House Sequence							*9.65
	Modified	23	49	34	83	57	
	Other	24	51	7	17	31	
Story							0.79
	Modified	31	58	58	67	89	
	Other	22	42	28	33	50	

Frequency and percentage of Learner and NS (Native speaker) Modified responses (Modified) + Other responses (Other). Total responses for House Sequence and Story communication tasks.
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

Table 2

Comparison of Learner v. NS segmented utterances of response as modified input on two tasks. (Hypothesis #2)

Communication Tasks	Response Type	Learner n	Learner %	NS n	NS %	Total	χ^2
House Sequence							0.19
	Segmented	6	26	6	18	12	
	Other	17	74	28	82	45	
Story							0.09
	Segmented	18	51	33	57	51	
	Other	17	49	25	43	42	

Frequency and percentage of Learner and NS (Native speaker) Segmented responses (Segmented) + Other modifications (Other). Total responses for House Sequence and Story communication tasks.
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

ers and NSs used segmentation for only a small percentage of their total modified utterances of response on the "house sequence" task: 26 % for the learners and 18 % for the NSs.

The percentage of such structures among the learners was much higher on the "story" task, with segmentations of prior utterances constituting 51 % of learners' responses to each other. However, this percentage was close to the 57 % found for NS responses. There were no significant differences between learners and NSs on either task ($\chi^2 = 0.1898$, df = 1, n.s. for the "house sequence" and ($\chi^2 = 0.08898$, df = 1, n.s.) for the "story." The differences, then, appeared to be between the impact of the tasks on learner-NS negotiation, not between learners and NSs.

Hypothesis 3 had predicted that the modified input offered through learners' segmented utterances of response would show greater conformity to L2 morphosyntax than that offered through their other modified utterances of response. However, this hypothesis was not supported ($\chi^2 = 1.49197$, df = 1, n.s., for the "house sequence" and $\chi^2 = 0.13857$, df = 1, n.s., for the "story"). Despite this result, however, closer examination of learner segmentations indicated that they were indeed a source of input on L2 morphosyntax. Yet, as noted in the above discussion of results on Hypothesis 2, there were simply too few of them relative to other modified utterances of response to support the hypothesis that segmentations would constitute learners' predominant source of modified input for L2 morphosyntax. This was especially evident on the "house sequence" task.

On the "house sequence" task, as can be seen in Table 3, all 6 learner segmented utterances of response showed conformity to L2 morphosyntax. However, compared to the total number of learner modified utterances of response that conformed to L2 morphosyntax, the 6 segmentations constituted only 38 %. As such, the infrequency

with which the learners segmented their prior utterances in responding to each other made this type of modification an unlikely candidate as each other's principal source of grammatical input, even though the segmentations themselves were all encoded with L2 morphosyntax.

This disproportion was not as evident on the "story" task. As shown in Table 3, learners' utterances of response that conformed to L2 morphosyntax were divided evenly between segmentations and other modification types. In fact, there was a considerable amount of such conformity within the segmented utterances of response, as only 33 % were lacking in conformity to NS morphosyntax. Again, however, there were few segmented utterances of response relative to the total number of modified utterances of response. As revealed by results of hypothesis testing, learner segmentations of prior responses offered L2 morphosyntax, but, unfortunately, their infrequency suggested that they were not a major source of L2 morphosyntax during learner-learner negotiation.

Hypotheses 4 and 5

The next two hypotheses addressed the question of learners as a source of feedback for L2 learning, particularly for feedback whereby one would signal a need for message comprehensibility through segmentations of the other's prior utterances, and for feedback that could offer L2 morphosyntax. Hypothesis 4 had predicted that learner utterances as signals for each other's message comprehensibility during learner-learner negotiation would offer proportionately more feedback of simple structural segmentations of prior utterances compared to NS signals during learner-NS negotiation. This received considerable support, as learners were given larger proportions of utterances of this kind by other learners compared to NSs.

As shown in Table 4, learner signals that were simple structural

Table 3

Comparison of Learner segmented utterances of response v. other modified utterances of response in negotiation for conformity with L2 morphosyntax on two tasks (Hypothesis #3)

Communication Tasks	Response Type	Learner Conform		Learner Not Conform		Total	χ^2
House Sequence							1.49
	Segmented	6	38	0	0	6	
	Other	10	63	6	100	16	
Story							0.14
	Segmented	9	50	4	33	13	
	Other	9	50	8	66	17	

Frequency and percentage of Learner and NS Segmented responses (Segmented) + Other modifications (Other). Total responses for House Sequence and Story communication tasks.
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

segmentations of each other's prior utterances were 79 % of their total number of modified signals compared to 56 % among the NSs on the "house sequence" task and 71 % of their modified signals compared to 22 % for the NSs on the "story" task (see Examples 5 and 6). These differences were significant for the "story" and not significant for the "house sequence," although there was a trend toward significance on this task. ($\chi^2 = 2.01231$, df = 1, n.s., for the "house sequence" and $\chi^2 = 19.905$, df = 1, $p < .05$., for the "story").

This result was distinctive not only because it was one of the only hypotheses that was supported through testing, but also because it revealed that learners could indeed produce a predominance of simple structural segmentation in their modification of prior utterances. As was noted above, a similar result had been predicted, but not supported, through testing Hypothesis 3. The distinction for Hypothesis 5, however, was that segmentation was tested with respect to learners' need to signal each other's prior utterances rather than to modify their own. Thus, when signaling for message comprehensibility, learn-

Table 4

Comparison of Learner v. NS segmented signal utterances in negotiation as feedback on two tasks (Hypothesis #4)

Communication Tasks	Signal Type	Learner n	Learner %	NS n	NS %	Total n	χ^2
House Sequence							2.01
	Segmented	26	79	10	56	36	
	Other	7	21	8	44	15	
Story							*19.91
	Segmented	30	71	10	22	40	
	Other	12	29	36	78	48	

Frequency and percentage of Learner and NS Segmented signals (Segmented) + Other modified signals (Other). Total signals for House Sequence and Story communication tasks.
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

ers simply segmented a portion of each other's message utterances. However, when responding to signals for message comprehensibility, learners produced a variety of modifications to prior message utterances of their own.

There are a number of possible explanations for learners' different choices in their modification of signals versus responses. Segmentation in their signals might have been due to their wish to preserve either what they perceived to be the most salient part of the message and/or what they understood. Such a motivation might not have been warranted for follow-up responses to signals because in follow-up responses to signals the need was to restate and rephrase prior utterances that had not been understood. Another possibility is that the simple structural modification of one learner's feedback signal may have led the learner at whom the signal was directed to feel free or perhaps even obligated to attempt a variety of modification types to provide alternative versions of his original message.

Although an exact explanation for these different patterns in modification across learner signals and responses of negotiation could not

be made on the basis of the data used in hypothesis testing, the different patterns are evident throughout the learner transcripts, represented in Excerpts (5) and (6), which contrast segmentation in one learner's signals with the more extensive modification produced by the other learner's responses. Both excerpts are from the "house sequence" task.

(5)

Learner	**Learner**
...the house has two maybe two stone steps **yeah steps its a entrance**	*two stone steps?* (segmented signal)

(6)

Learner	**Learner**
its wall is completely white yeah completely white it looks not wood it looks ah concrete	*completely white?*

The prediction of Hypothesis 5 was that learners' segmentation of each other's prior utterances would provide their main source of feedback on L2 morphosyntax. This prediction was somewhat complementary to that made for Hypothesis 3, which was that learners' segmentation of *their own* prior utterances would be their predominant source of *modified input* on L2 morphosyntax. As had been found for Hypothesis 3, Hypothesis 5 was not supported at the .05 level of significance ($\chi^2 = 2.922$, df = 1, n.s. for the "house sequence" and $\chi^2 = 3.3532$, df = 1, n.s. for the "story"). However, there was a trend in the direction of support, which held across both the "house sequence" and "story" tasks. Thus, as shown in Table 5, learners' segmentations constituted a large proportion of their modified signals that conformed to L2 syntax. This figure was 86 % on the "house sequence" task and 81 % on the "story" task. What must also be noted, however, was that learners showed conformity to L2

morphosyntax across their modified signals overall, not only in those that were modified through segmentation. Such conformity was shown in 85 % of learners' modified signals for the "house sequence" and in 74 % for the "story."

Results on Hypotheses 4 and 5 thus indicated that, with respect to feedback, learners were given signals from other learners that were in keeping with what had been predicted. As such, the signals were predominantly segmentations of other learners' prior utterances, modified as isolated words and phrases, with conformity to L2 morphosyntax. This was a type of modification that learners had also been found to use in their responses to feedback signals, though to a much smaller extent in that context.

Hypotheses 6 and 7

Hypotheses 6 and 7 were based on a research question regarding negotiation between learners as a context for their production of modified output. As such, the hypotheses focused on possible contingencies between learners' modification of prior utterances in their responses of negotiation and the signals they were given to elicit these responses. Of particular interest was whether or not learners would produce modified output in response to each other's signals, even if the signals themselves had already modified the learners' utterances for them.

Results of hypothesis testing supported Hypothesis 6, that learners would not modify their output to a greater degree in negotiation with other learners than in negotiation with NSs ($\chi^2 = 2.064$, df = 1, n.s. for the "house sequence" and $\chi^2 = 0.174698$, df = 1, n.s., for the "story"). As shown on Table 6, on the "house sequence" task, learners responded to 26 signals from other learners that modified their previous utterances. Of these responses, only 31 % were modified versions of their previous utterances. This compared with 44 % in response to modified signals from the NSs. These figures were a

Table 5

Comparison of Learner segmented signal utterances v. other modified signal utterances in negotiation for conformity to L2 morphosyntax on two tasks (Hypothesis #5)

Communication Tasks	Signal Type	Learner Conform		Learner Not Conform		Total	χ^2
		n	%	n	%	n	
House Sequence							2.92
	Segmented	24	86	2	40	26	
	Other	4	14	3	60	7	
Story							3.35
	Segmented	25	83	5	17	30	
	Other	6	50	6	50	12	

Frequency and percentage of Learner and NS Segmented signals (Segmented) + Other modified signals (Other). Total signals for House Sequence and Story communication tasks.
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

little higher on the "story" task. There, learners used modification on 64 % of their responses to modified signals from other learners and on 43 % of their responses to modified signals from NSs. Of interest, though not of statistical significance, was the finding that on the "house sequence" task, learners actually produced a smaller proportion of their modified utterances of response to modified signals from other learners than they produced in response to modified signals from NSs.

As discussed above, there are several possible explanations for these results. This includes the explanations based on the limited linguistic resources that learners have available to them to produce output modified through interaction and/or intervention. In the present study, such limitations of repertoire might have inhibited learners from attempting new forms and structures, even when they were interacting in peer relationships with other learners on tasks with an equal distribution of information and opportunities for participation.

Summary of Results of Hypothesis Testing

Taken together, results of hypothesis testing revealed that learners' negotiation with other learners addressed their needs for L2 learning in ways that were not always comparable to their negotiation with NSs, particularly with respect to their need for modified input in general and more specifically, for input modified in ways that conformed to features of L2 morphosyntax.

With respect to learners' need to produce modified output, however, results showed comparable production, whether learners negotiated with NSs or with each other. It must be recalled, however, that previous research had shown that learner-NS negotiation was not a particularly rich context for learners' production of modified output. When NSs offered signals to learners that modified the learners' own prior utterances, the learners' responses simply acknowledged these signals in lieu of further modification. Results of the present study, therefore, suggest only that negotiation with other learners is not any more limited than negotiation with NSs in helping learners to produce modified output.

Learners' strongest contribution to each other's needs appeared to be in the amount and type of feedback they provided through their signals of negotiation. Their signals segmented portions of each other's utterances, which often conformed to L2 morphosyntax. These signals, however, did not have an immediate impact on learners' modified production ,as indicated through their limited production of modified input and output in their responses. Additional follow-up comparisons of the learner and NS dyads, however, revealed potential assistance to L2 learning beyond that revealed through hypothesis testing. This was accomplished through their use of utterance scaffolding and completion, to be discussed below.

Table 6

Comparison of Learner modified utterances of response to Learners v. NS modified signal utterances in negotiation on two tasks (Hypotheses #6 & 7)

Communication Tasks	Response Type	to Learner M Signals		to NS M Signals		Total	χ^2
		n	%	n	%	n	
House Sequence	Modified	8	31	7	44	15	2.06
	Other	18	69	9	56	27	
Story	Modified	23	64	21	47	44	0.18
	Other	13	35	24	53	37	

Frequency and percentage of Learner Modified Responses (Modified) + Learner Other Responses (Other) to Learner Modified Signals (Learner M Signals) + Native Speaker Modified Signals (NS M Signals). Total responses for House Sequence and Story communication tasks
*$p < .05$, $df = 1$

Completions

Though the focus of this study was on negotiation, in the course of analyzing our data we observed a phenomenon we call completions. Their existence which had been previously identified in a study by Pica and Doughty (1985a) as utterances in which interlocutors supply appropriate words or phrases to complete each other's utterances. Though completions did not occur inside any of the negotiation sequences in our current data, they seem to be a type of scaffolding (Slobin 1982), in that they are another way for interlocutors to continue communication (or meaning-making) by supplying each other with input to move the discourse forward. We found two types of completions in our data: those in which the word chosen for the completion had been previously used and those in which it had not. An example of each follows. Completions are shown in italics.

Learner A:	**Learner B:**
Hm. With who?	With someone.
Husband I think. No?	But uh
someone	someone.

In this exchange, Learner B hesitates, prompting Learner A to supply the word "someone" from Learner B's previous utterance.

Learner A:	**Learner B:**
is located the right side of the house	ah like a like a
like a cheese	yes cheese yes okay

In this exchange, Learner B's hesitation seems to indicate that he is having difficulty completing his utterance, whereupon Learner A repeats part of Learner B's utterance and suggests "cheese," a word not previously mentioned in the discourse, to complete the utterance. Learner B then expresses acceptance.

Our data revealed that completions constituted 3.9% of the total number of utterances in the learner-learner dyads versus. only .53% of the total utterances the learner-NS dyads. Thus we found almost eight times the number of completions among the learners when interacting with each other. The direction of this finding is consistent with that of Pica and Doughty (1985a). So then, while the quantity of negotiations is lower in learner-learner dyads, there may be other opportunities for learners to supply each other with input through discoursal components and thereby facilitate their learning. While we found that negotiations decrease in learner-learner dyads, it is possible that there were other sources of input and opportunities to produce output. In the case of completions, however, the input and output production was not of the kind researchers have considered "modified," and therefore, may not be relevant for the learners.

Conclusion

The present study was motivated by research on L2 learner interaction in general and negotiation in particular, which had generated

the following questions and concerns: Can learners help one another to do what has been claimed to aid L2 learning, i.e., to modify their output lexically, morphologically, and syntactically? Through their output modifications, can learners make input and feedback which provide data on L2 lexis and morphosyntax accessible to each other? The study sought to move beyond endorsement of learner-to-learner work with respect to its contributions toward learner communication; we expand the work by asking questions about such interaction in terms of its contributions to L2 learning. The study sought to answer these questions within current theoretical perspectives on the roles of modified L2 input and feedback and the production of modified output in the L2 learning process.

On the question of whether learners can aid one another in L2 learning by modifying their speech, our research revealed that learners can be a limited source of modified input and modified output and that they can provide opportunities for accurate feedback, albeit in a simplified form. On the question of accessibility, the findings indicated that our learners provided more utterances of feedback of the simple segmentation type than did our NSs. These utterances were proportionately high in terms of L2 morphosyntax and therefore, might also have served as a source of useful L2 input. Thus, while our learner-NSs interactions did seem to provide more negotiations considered important for L2 learning, results suggested that learners could provide morphosyntactially adjusted L2 signals of the segmentation type when working with each other.

In summary, we found that negotiation between learners provided fewer quantitatively rich data for L2 learning than that between learners and NSs, but that it did offer data of considerable quality, particularly in the area of feedback. In pedagogic terms, we hope that these findings will be useful to classroom teachers with respect to the deci-

sions they must make, especially when they feel logistically constrained to use dyads of learners in their classrooms. As researchers, we too were constrained by the limitations of our own research design and by our underlying theoretical assumptions about the input, feedback, and output requirements of learners for success with their L2 learning. We now await learners and their teachers at work in their classrooms to further inform our questions and concerns.

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Collaborative effort between nonnative English speakers: A difference in strategies

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An increasing amount of attention is being focused on contrastive pragmatics, the comparison of linguistic materials of one group of speakers across various languages and cultures around the world. Knowledge of the pragmatic aspects of language is needed in areas such as language teaching and intercultural communication. The investigation presented here involves a replication of Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs' 1986 study of referring as a collaborative effort. In this case, however, two nonnative English speakers describe and match a set of 12 abstract figures. The results show that nonnative English speakers who do not share the same native language or the same system for making definite reference use different kinds of strategies to minimize their collaborative effort in conversation from those native English speakers use.

An increasing amount of attention is being focused on what Oleksy (1989) calls contrastive pragmatics, the comparison of linguistic materials of one group of speakers across various languages and cultures around the world. Since pragmatics involves the study of language from the point of view of the users, including choices made and effects on other participants in the communicative interaction (Crystal 1991), it is particularly important to consider what occurs when nonnative speakers communicate. Verschueren (1987) points out that there are important domains in which knowledge of the pragmatic aspects of language are urgently needed, such as language teaching and crosscultural and international communication.

At the same time, he adds, the role of the hearer and her influence on the speaker's verbal behavior has been underrepresented in pragmatic research. Humphreys-Jones (1986) adds that the role of the hearer in the communication process has generally been ignored as well.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) note that conversation is the fundamental site of language use and it is here that speakers and hearers work together to establish mutual beliefs and common perspectives in order to successfully communicate. While Clark and Carlson (1981) and Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) have begun to investigate hearers and their influence on the speaker and cooperation in face-to-face interaction, these studies primarily address native language speakers and do not deal directly with the additional concerns introduced when nonnative speakers interact. Levinson (1983) suggests that there is much to be learned from this area. He notes that "...taking features that are directly and simply encoded in one language, one may well be able to find the same features encoded in more subtle and less visible ways in either the structure or the use of other languages" (p. 43). An investigation of how nonnative speakers use linguistic devices to convey meaning and establish mutual beliefs can help inform what Verschueren (1987) refers to as the pragmatic perspective. This perspective centers around the adaptability of language, involving the constant making of choices at every level of linguistic structure.

One method of accomplishing this kind of investigation is the use of referential communication tasks. These picture card tasks have been used frequently and productively in studies of child language development and adult reference and collaborative effort in conversation (e.g., Hedelin & Hjelmquist 1991; Glucksberg, Krauss, & Higgins 1975; Krauss & Weinheimer 1964; Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Wilkes-Gibbs & Clark 1992). The investigation presented here

involves a replication of Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' study of referring as a collaborative effort between native English speakers during a referential communication task. In this case, a native Tamil speaker and a native Japanese speaker, both at advanced levels of English language proficiency, describe a set of 12 abstract figures. The results of their conversation are analyzed and compared to the data from Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' study. Evidence is presented that nonnative English speakers who do not share the same native language or the same system for making definite reference use different kinds of strategies to minimize their collaborative effort during conversation from those native English speakers use.

Method

Subjects

There were two subjects participating in the study. Both were graduate students at an American university. The subject designated as director was from Malaysia, and a native speaker of Tamil. He began studying English in his home country in elementary school and has been speaking English for about 20 years. He has lived in the U.S.. for a total of three and one-half years. The subject designated as matcher was from Japan and a native speaker of Japanese. She has been speaking English for six years and has lived in the U.S. for four years. Both subjects spoke English at an advanced level of proficiency.

Material

Two sets of Tangram figures on 3 x 5 inch index cards were used. Both sets were identical and consisted of 12 Tangram figures, created from elementary geometric shapes, with one figure per card (see Figure 1). The figures were replications of those used by Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) in their study of referring. Cardboard was used to fashion opaque screens that were arranged between the subjects.

Figure 1. Tangram figures

Design and Procedure

The two subjects were seated across from each other at a conference table, and opaque screens were set up in front of them so that they could not see the other's cards. They could, however, see each other's faces. A small tape recorder was used to record the entire session.

The subjects were told that the task of the director was to describe the figures so that the matcher could correctly identify each one. The matcher was told she could also request more information from the director if desired. The 12 cards were laid in front of the director and matcher, face up, in random order, in two rows of six cards each. The director was instructed to begin with the card in the top row, left corner and work from left to right across the first row, before proceeding to the second row. At the end of each trial, the director and matcher compared their cards to see if they had made any errors. The sets of cards were then reshuffled and arranged in front of each subject to start the next trial. There were six trials in all. Each trial was timed from the point at which the director began to give his first description until either the director or matcher indicated that they were finished with the task.

Results

In this section, the results from the nonnative English speaking (NNS) pair are compared with the results of Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' study (1986) of collaborative referring among native English speaking (NS) pairs.

The six timed trials of the NS pairs took an average of 25 minutes per pair, in comparison to the 24 minutes for six trials for the NNS pair. This was expected, since the NNS pair were both proficient English speakers who had lived in the U.S. for approximately four years and were attending graduate level university courses. Looking at the number of words, it was noted that the NS pairs used an average of 1,224 words per six trials. In comparison, the NNS pair used a total of 3,605 words during the six trials, nearly three times as many words as the NS pairs. This information was broken down further into a measure of the average number of words used by the directors per figure and is presented in Figure 2. As with the NS pairs, the NNS pair became more efficient from one trial to the next. However, while the NS directors used an average of 41 words per figure on trial 1, the NNS director used an average of 78 words per figure, or nearly twice as many words. Yet, by trial 6, when the NS directors were using an average of 8 words per figure, the NNS director was using only 12 words per figure on average, only 1.5 times as many words.

Figure 3 shows the comparison between the pairs of the average number of speaking turns taken by the directors per figure. The NS directors used an average of 3.7 turns per figure on trial 1 and only 1 turn by trial 6. In comparison, the NNS director used only slightly more turns, with an average of 4.8 turns per figure on trial 1 and only 1.5 turns by trial 6. Taken together, these two measures show that the NNS director used more words per turn to reach mutual agree-

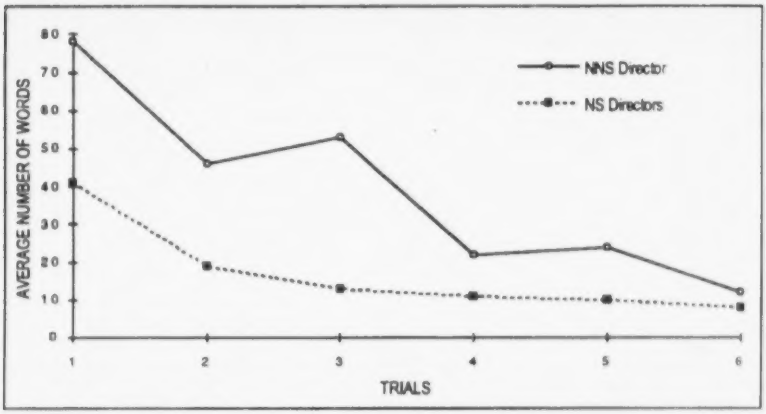

Figure 2. Average number of words used by directors per figure.

ment on the figures being described than the NS pairs did. Additionally, the NNS pair had a 7% error rate across trials as compared to an error rate of 2% for the NS pairs. Interestingly, most of the errors occurred in trial 2, rather than in trial 1 as one might expect. In trial 3, the number of words used by the director and the matcher increased by 17% over trial 2. After trial 2, the NNS pair made no errors.

One of the most interesting findings concerned the use of indefinite and definite references. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) reported that, in trial 1, their NS pairs used indefinite references in descriptive statements about the figures (e.g., a person who's kneeling). After trial 1, however, they used what Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) called 'identificational' statements with definite references 89% of the time (e.g., the guy with his arms raised). After trial 1, there were only seven times when the NS pairs categorized a figure as "is an x" rather than "is the x". In contrast, the NNS pair continued to use indefinite references throughout all six trials. In the last five trials, definite references were made only 20 times. Furthermore, during trial 6, the

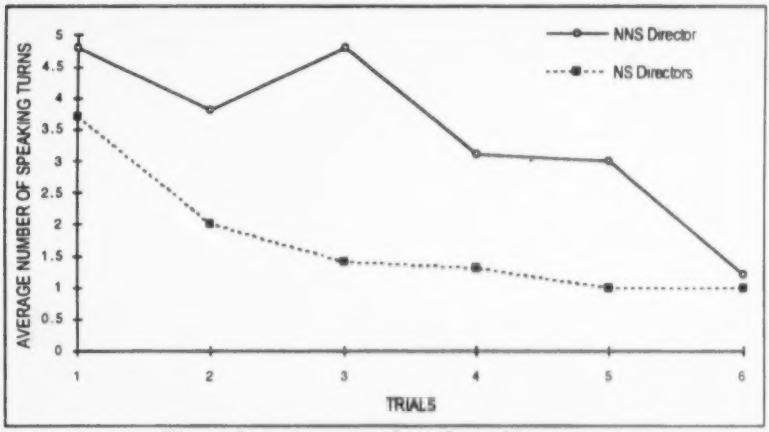

Figure 3. Average number of speaking turns by directors per figure.

director continued to use indefinite references a total of seven times during his 13 turns.

Another point of comparison between NS pairs and this NNS pair concerned their preference for perspective. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs found strong support for their prediction that NS pairs would take a holistic, analogical perspective (e.g., looks like someone lying on the floor), rather than a segmental, literal perspective (e.g., looks like a triangle and two parallel lines) as a basis for their references in order to minimize collaborative effort. However, this pattern was not followed by the NNS pair. The NNS director used a literal perspective in 53% of his turns, and an analogical perspective in 47%. Also, the matcher used a literal perspective in 58% of her turns and an analogical perspective in 42% of her turns. However, despite the matcher's larger percentage of turns using a literal perspective, she had indicated a preference for an analogical approach during a brief chat with the director between trials 3 and 4:

Director: See, I'm using my knowledge of math, you know. I mean, we are using our knowledge of math, you know, to...
Matcher: I'm, I'm really bad at math. That's why the ver-, this one, like vertical thing, doesn't work.
Director: Ah, vertical/horizontal. Oh, I see.
Matcher: Look like mouse? Ok.
Director: Oh, oh, I see. Oh, uh huh.

Figure 4 shows how, following the matcher's comment, the director increased his use of analogical descriptions, although he still continued to use some literal descriptions. Of equal interest, it can be seen that the matcher, despite her stated preference for analogical descriptions, converged toward the director's use of literal descriptions. In fact, in trial 4, when the director used an analogical description, the matcher frequently used a literal description as a confirmation check:

Director: Ok, first one is bent leg, you know.
Matcher: Ok.
Director: Bent leg.
Matcher: Two figures, one square on the top and bent at the right side?
Director: Ah, yeah, just two figures.

The director also converged toward the matcher in another respect. When the matcher habitually failed to use an obligatory article with certain noun phrases, the director adopted her strategy and used no article for these same phrases, as in the following example:

Matcher: Two figures and .., it's not, not fish.
Director: Not fish. Ah, ok.
Matcher: Ok.
Director: It's not fish, ok.
Matcher: And the last one is fish.
Director: Ok, we are finished, ok.

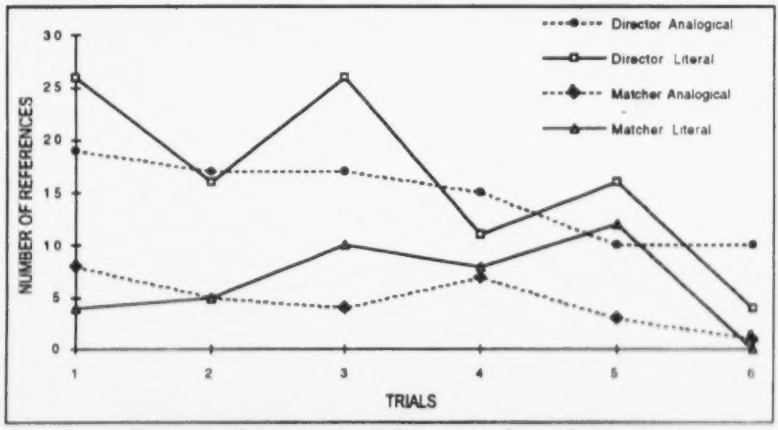

Figure 4. Comparison of director and matcher's use of analogical v. literal perspectives per trial

It was also observed that the director used a large number of comprehension checks, such as "you know," "you see," and "ok". These were classified as comprehension checks (as opposed to idiosyncratic fillers) if they were spoken with a rising intonation at the end. In total, the director used 98 comprehension checks of this type throughout the six trials, which accounted for 6.2% of his total words used.

Discussion

The findings of this study show that a pair of nonnative English speakers completed an experimental task requiring collaboration in approximately the same time as native English speaking pairs. That advanced English proficient nonnative speakers could successfully communicate was not in doubt. What was of interest, however, were the ways in which the nonnative speakers collaborated to establish reference, and how these ways differed from native speakers.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) state that "In each referential process the director and matcher must find a perspective they can mutually accept for current purposes.... For each of these they need to

take special steps at the first mention to establish a common perspective. If that takes more collaborative effort than the director believes possible on trial 1, he shouldn't *refer* [italics in original] to the figures but try first to establish a common perspective" (p. 29). In striving to establish this common perspective, the NNS pair did not show a preference for using definite reference in identifying the figures in the same way that the NS pairs had. In fact, in the last five trials, definite references were made only 20 times. The question arises as to why the NNS pair did not use the same strategy as the NS pairs and what was substituted in its place in order to achieve a common perspective. One possible explanation is that while the director's native language, Tamil, does have definite articles used similar to English, the matcher's native language, Japanese, does not. The matcher was capable of using articles appropriately as evidenced by the fact that they appeared in the trials on some occasions. However, there were at least twenty occasions during the six trials where the matcher did not supply articles in obligatory contexts. This did not seem to pose a problem for the director, though. Instead, he adopted the pattern of the matcher and made reference to some of the figures without any article. Thus, while the director said "looks like a fish" in early trials, he changed his reference to simply "That's fish" in later trials after the matcher had referred to the figure as "is fish". This tactic seemed to have the effect of creating a proper name for the figure, conveying definite reference in a less than conventional way.

The limited use of definite noun phrases by the director and the matcher did affect the collaborative effort of the two subjects in that the director had to use more words to describe the figures, up until the last trial. Although the NNS pair did not use definite referring expressions as suggested by Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' principle of

least collaborative effort (1986), they did attempt to minimize effort through constructing proper names for figures. They also converged toward each other's preferred perspective and increased the use of comprehension checks.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' collaborative view of reference (1986) states that pairs will take many words to reach an acceptable description on a figure when it is first encountered because they will use many nonstandard techniques, such as expansion, self-correction, trial noun phrases, installment noun phrases, and so forth. Later, identification of the figure should be accomplished more quickly since standard noun phrases (i.e., proper nouns, definite descriptions and pronouns) can be used to make definite references. Although the NNS pair did shorten their references on successive trials, they did not do so with standard noun phrases. Instead, they converged toward each other's preferred strategies. For example, the director attempted to use more analogical descriptions after the matcher stated her preference for them, while at the same time, the matcher moved toward the director's preference for literal descriptions by using them for confirmation checks with him. Also, the director used many comprehension checks during the trials to determine whether the matcher understood his descriptions. Over 249 total turns, the director made 98 comprehension checks with phrases like "you know?" or "you see?". This suggests that the director and matcher spent a great deal of time attempting to establish a mutual belief concerning their reference to each figure. This is supported by the fact that they used nearly three times as many words as the NS pairs to accomplish their goals, although they did so in approximately the same amount of time. Some of this may be accounted for by the topic-comment structure of Japanese (Levinson 1983). The tendency is for Japanese speakers to wait until the end of an utterance in order to determine its

predicate. The large number of comprehension checks suggest that, frequently, the director was uncertain of whether a mutual understanding had been established so that he could proceed to the next figure.

Conclusion

These findings show that a pair of nonnative English speakers used other devices when their command of English referring expressions or their confidence in establishing a mutual belief was not sufficient for the task at hand. The use of only one subject pair, however, does not allow for any generalizing at this time. Nevertheless, as a case study, it does suggest some interesting directions for future studies. Larger groups of pairs, including pairs with the same native language backgrounds and native and nonnative pairs, should provide more insights into how speakers and listeners collaborate in establishing reference when the conventional means are not easily accessible to one or both of the parties. It could be expected that same native language pairs would utilize strategies that differ from those used by pairs with different native languages. Additionally, within same native language pairs, those languages that use definite articles and those that do not might approach collaboration in different ways. Research into the nature of these strategies can add an important dimension to our knowledge of contrastive pragmatics. Also, in terms of pedagogy, second language learners could benefit from more instructional attention on establishing reference. Tasks like this Tangram experiment can provide a useful context for collaborative language use in the classroom.

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Shifting gender roles in the acculturation process

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Within a growing literature which examines the effects of the acculturation process on families, researchers (Ochs 1993; Buijs 1991) have begun to investigate how social identities and gender roles shift through acculturation. This paper presents a discourse analysis of a series of conversations between the author and Pha, a Laotian woman who has lived in the U.S. with her husband and children since 1986. The analysis focuses on the nature of women's agency in Lao and U.S. cultures, highlighting Pha's perception of her changing identities as wife and mother. Implications which ESL educators may draw from a more nuanced understanding of the acculturation process are discussed..

Ochs poses the following question regarding the shifting social identities of immigrant families in the process of acculturation:

> Can we speak of intercultures just as we speak of interlanguages, and what are the interactional and dialectical processes through which old and new constructs give rise to culturally blended social identities? ...How are old, new, or blends of old and new identities interactionally established from one interactional moment to the next in these families? (1993: 302)

This paper will address these questions through a discourse analysis of interviews with Pha, a Laotian woman who has lived in the U.S. with her husband and children since 1986. Examining Pha's con-

struction of women's roles in Laos and contrasting this with her construction of women's roles in the U.S., the analysis will focus on Pha's sense of agency as both wife and mother. This paper will explore the conflict she perceives between these two roles and her attempts to resolve this conflict.

The issue of shifting gender role identities draws on concepts of the constructed nature of social identity. Davies and Harre (1990: 46) comment that "who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices." They emphasize that one's development of self and of the world is interpreted through one's perspective of various categories, including that of male and female, and through participation in discursive practices through which meaning is allocated to these categories. This paper will employ the idea of constructive identity to explore the effect of moving to a different culture in which categories of male and female are radically different.

Ochs similarly examines the discursive construction of social identity, emphasizing the active process of its construction:

> Social identities have a sociohistorical reality independent of language behavior, but in any given actual situation, at any given actual moment, people in those situations are actively constructing their social identities rather than passively living out some cultural prescription for social identity. (Ochs 1993: 296)

These data evidence both aspects of Ochs' statement, examining the ways in which sociocultural and material resources influence the social identities available to women, as well as women's active resistance to being positioned as non-agentic.

Fairclough (1989: 25) provides a perspective through which discourse analysts can view the interconnection of situation, institution, and society within texts. The employment of this heuristic to the complex question of social identity allows one to view connections between situational struggles over the definition of social identity, as well as societal factors which deeply influence social identity. These data demonstrate that while Lao women in the U.S. are agentic in the struggle to change their social identities, material resources of U.S. society play a crucial role in both supporting and encouraging these struggles. Pha mentions that although gender roles in the U.S. are radically different from those in Laos, Laotian men would like to "do the same thing," transporting gender roles and the ideologies underlying them. However, due to of a variety of social factors, including access to welfare and paid work outside the home, women are able to resist this positioning.

Discourse Analysis

This analysis will focus on interviews with Pha about the nature of women's roles within wife-husband and mother-child relationships, focusing on the nature of women's agency in Lao and U.S. cultures. These relationships provide insight into power relations between women and men, illustrating major sources of conflict between the realization of gender roles in the two cultures. The concept of agency, defined here as the ability to make choices, act on them, and take responsibility for those actions, will be explored through the linguistic features of negative construction and modal construction, demonstrating especially what men and women can and cannot do. Also, the consistent metaphors of directionality and mobility will be emphasized, demonstrating the distinction between public and private spheres for men and women.

Pha stressed the significance of marriage for Laotian women in a discussion about the economic status of women in Laos, in which she stated that women cannot work for money outside the home and that there is no welfare system available to poor women with children. Thus, an unmarried Laotian woman is left with little means of economic support; in Pha's words, "Who is pregnant, no father, that's a very, very poor woman. Raise the children alone." Also, because of a powerful proscription within Laotian society against women engaging in sex outside of marriage, women have no societally sanctioned intimate relationships if they do not marry. Thus, marriage is of extreme importance for women both economically and socially. Pha underscores this importance as she talks about the fate of an unmarried pregnant woman in Laos. She states that it is common for a man to abandon an unmarried woman when she becomes pregnant and that parents, shamed by their daughter's pregnancy, often force her to leave the home. When asked about how these women manage to support themselves, Pha replied:

Example 1:

1 I saw somebody born the baby on the ground,
2 on the street.
3 That's make me,
4 when I saw that,
5 I very upset.
6 Because parent don't want her.
7 I don't want to see like that.

In Example, Lines 5-7, Pha's use of phrases like "very upset" and "don't want to see like that" indicate that she views this as a negative situation which should be changed, illustrating her critique of women's social situation while still in Laos. However, she does not clarify her opinion about the sociocultural rules which lead to this situation.

Pha's Construction of Woman's Role as Wife in Laos

In talking about choosing marriage partners, Pha consistently states that the man is the decision-maker and agent, as she does in this passage:

Example 2:

1 Pha: But in my country, if you pregnant, the girl pregnant, but
2 nobody, no,
3 don't have the man get married with you.
4 D: Oh, I see. Oh, really?
5 Pha: Yes.
6 D: So, if a girl gets pregnant, a girl who's a teenager gets pregnant, she
7 won't ever get married.
8 Pha: The man don't want you.

This excerpt is marked with the frequent use of negatives. In Example 2, Pha underscores that a man will not choose to marry a pregnant young woman by the use of three negative statements: "nobody, no, don't." Although double negation is a recognized grammatical form of demonstrating negation, Pha rarely makes use of this form. Thus, her use of repeated negation illustrates her strong evidential stance that a man will reject a woman who has been pregnant (Ochs & Schieffelin, cited in Saunders 1994). Her use of negation in this statement also illustrates that marriage is the expected path for a young woman, whereas not marrying is unexpected and dispreferred. In Line 5, Pha's statement, "The man don't want you," also employs a negative construction. In both of these statements, she attributes agency in the decision to marry to the man who chooses whether the woman is a suitable partner. The woman is positioned as the object about which he decides, and her chastity is an important criteria in his decision-making process.

Pha's comments about the role relationship between husbands and wives continue the theme of men's agency. Pha concisely states the rules a Laotian husband imposes on his new wife "Quit your job, stay home, and you should listen." The use of clear imperatives and

the modal "should" indicate that the husband has the decision-making power within the marriage. The woman's role is centered on the home and involves the receptive skill of listening and, implicitly, following the rules set by the husband. When later asked what women can control or decide within the marriage, Pha responded with a statement demonstrating her construction of Lao husbands as omnipotent:

Example 3:

1 I am your husband.
2 I go anywhere.
3 I do everything.
4 You cannot control me.

Both of these passages, embodying prescriptive rules for wives, are spoken in the first person from the husband's perspective, communicating the rules as a husband speaks them, rather than as a wife would hear them (the perspective from which Pha would experience these words). This contributes to the power of this pronouncement and makes clear that they come, quite literally, from the husband's mouth. This perspective also echoes Pha's earlier statement that a woman should listen to her husband, continuing the theme of women in the deferential position of listener and men in the agentive position as speakers. Pha's choice of such generalizing and totalizing words in Example 3, Lines 2 - 3, as "anywhere" and "everything" indicate her perception of the scope and direction of a man's power within marriage as absolute and unqualified. Against this total power, she juxtaposes the position of the wife as lacking the ability to control the husband's actions.

The following passage provides an expanded version of Pha's construction of the husband-wife relationship in Laos, demonstrating the risks for women who choose to disobey the sociocultural rule that men are the decision-makers in marriage:

Example 4:

1 P: In Laos, husband is control the wife.
2 D: Uh-huh. How?
3 P: Keep the wife at home.
4 D: The wife stays at home, uh-huh.
5 P: The husband go outside.
6 And after dinner, husband go outside.
7 Have the girlfriend, or have the second wife
8 D: Oh, really!
9 P: Third wife, four wife.
10 Except who is a rich man, have seven, eight wives. And, and
11 D: Right,
12 so if you're rich, you have more wives.
13 P: Right, and wife cannot do anything.
14 Just stay home.
15 Take care of children.
16 Cook for children.
17 Cannot out, go outside in the nighttime.
18 The woman cannot.
19 D: Hmm, that's different, huh?
20 P: And then husband control the wife.
21 Make rules for the wife.
22 If wife is, uh, don't listen husband,
23 husband can . fight or kill,
24 something like that.

In Example 4, Lines 1-3, Pha states that husbands control wives through keeping them at home and not allowing them to move outside in the world. Thus, she perceives women's home-centered role not as women's choice, but a means by which men control women. In Lines 5-7, she states that men, on the other hand, have the right to move in the outside world and to have relationships and marriages independent of their first wives. These lines also evidence a theme of movement for men, contrasted by the lack of mobility for women in Line 13. In Lines 13-18, Pha uses a negative construction to convey that women have no control in this situation. After stating that women "cannot do anything," she lists the women's chores within the home. The juxtaposition of these utterances illustrates again her perception

that women lack agency; rather than having chosen the role of caretaker of children and the home, this statement demonstrates her sense that women have been placed into this role. Again, Lines 17-18 Pha employs a negative construction to underscore the rules against women moving outside the home. Finally, in Lines 20-24, she states the severe ramifications of wives' refusal to accept their husbands' control, using a modal construction: "husband can fight or kill, something like that," demonstrating husbands' power to enforce their role as agents through physical abuse or murder.

When asked about the options available to women in a violent or unfulfilling marriage, Pha replies that a woman must be "patient." She also indicates the severe stress this situation places on women, stating that "Some woman is patient, patient a lot and they die for patience." The following excerpt demonstrates Pha's perceptions about the lack of options for Laotian women:

Example 5:

1 D: So, in Laos do husbands and wives get divorced?
2 Can
3 P: No.
4 D: No.
5 P: Can't. If a husband, he cannot get divorced from you,
6 like you is the wife, right?
7 D: Mm-hmm.
8 P: And I don't want to divorce of you, because you is my first lady.
9 You have to stay with me all your life.
10 You can't, you can't have second husband and third husband.
11 If you have second husband or you have boyfriend,
12 I going to kill you.

Pha states that divorce is not an option for women, because husbands do not want to divorce their first wives. Pha's statement in Example 5, Line 8, spoken from the first person perspective of the husband, makes apparent that the decision for divorce is the man's. The use of the strong modal construction "you have to" referring to

the wife in the following line indicates that the woman must follow the rules as dictated by the husband. In addition, the verb " to stay" reinforces women's lack of mobility and position in the home. Her use of the negative construction in Example 5, Line 10 demonstrates her comparison of the rules for wives to those for a husband. Whereas a Laotian husband can take a second wife if he is unhappy or unfulfilled in his marriage, a Laotian wife does not have that right; she must remain in a marriage regardless of its difficulties or danger. Through this overt comparison Pha seems to be underscoring women's lack of agency and her perception of the inequity of this situation.

Pha's Construction of Woman's Role as Wife in the U.S.

The sections of the interview in which Pha talks about a wife's role in the U.S. are markedly different from those above, stressing the freedom of movement and choice experienced by Lao women living in the U.S. In response to a question about the changes experienced by Laotian refugee families living in the U.S., Pha focuses her remarks on the changes women experience:

Example 6:

1 D: So when you say that sometimes families change when they
2 come here,
3 when Lao families come here to the U.S.,
4 they change to American culture,
5 what kind of things do you think they change,
6 how do they change?
7 P: They change their clothes
8 and they change, like a woman,
9 like a mother, like me,
10 and in some families,
11 the husband go outside
12 in the nighttime.
13 D: In here, in the U.S.?
14 P: Yes, in here. Play the cards.
15 D: Mm-hmm. Play cards.
16 P: And the wife go the same way.
17 Do the same way husband do.

18 Because they think as a woman have freedom.
19 D: That women have more freedom here.
20 Pha: Yeah. And the husband can't control the wife.

Counter to her previous remarks regarding gender roles in Laos, the woman is frequently the subject of Pha's sentences in this passage. In Example 6, Lines 7-9, she first remarks that "they" change their clothes, and then emphasizes that Lao women change, repeating "they change, like a woman, like a mother, like me," underscoring women's subjectivity and using nominal references which move from general "they" to the personal "me." Again, in Lines 16-17, the woman is the subject as Pha indicates that women have the ability to behave and to move in the world as men do. In the last line of this excerpt, Pha uses a negative modal construction, rare for a reference to a man, demonstrating the husband's lack of agency because of his inability to control his wife.

In the following excerpt, Pha develops her theme of women's greater freedom in the U.S., continuing to structure her utterances with the woman as subject:

Example 7:

1 P: The women, the Laotian woman, when they come to the
2 United States,
3 they very happy
4 D: Yeah, I'll bet.
5 P: Yeah, because they get freedom.
6 They can do everything like a man do.
7 D: Yeah, right. And I could see how that would really change
8 how the family works
9 P: Yes.
10 D: because it seems like when the man,
11 the mother and father in the family
12 have certain ways that they act
13 and when those change a lot,
14 it can change the whole family.
15 P: Yes.
16 D: Yeah. Huh, so Yeah.
17 P: And Laotian families in here, in the

18 North Philly, South Philly
19 They get divorce a lot.
20 D: Yeah, hmm.
21 P: Because the woman want to get divorce from the man
22 if man disagree, the woman don't care.
23 The man disagree with the wife, right?
24 D: Right.
25 P: But woman don't care.
26 I get the boyfriend and go out from you.
27 I leave you at home.

In Example 7, Line 1, Pha demonstrates her affective stance on women's greater freedom in the U.S., stating that Lao women are "very happy." In Line 6, Pha uses a modal construction to indicate that women have the ability to make choices as men do. Her statements about divorce of Lao couples in the U.S. are markedly different in their construction from her comments about divorce in Laos. Whereas she structured the man as the subject and decision-maker about divorce in Laos, here the subject in reference to divorce is "Laotian families" (Line 17), implying cooperative decision, and "the woman" (Line 21), positioning the woman as being able to express her own desires, even if that desire includes separating from her husband. Lines 26 and 27 demonstrate the most dramatic departure from Pha's construction of traditional Laotian gender roles, reversing the consistent metaphors of directionality and mobility and the theme of women's lack of agency. In these lines, the woman is positioned as agent, possessing the choice and mobility to leave her husband; it is the husband who is left at home lacking agency and mobility, the former place of the woman in traditional Lao gender roles.

The Changing Roles of Laotian Women in the U.S.

In exploring Pha's comments on the way in which Lao women's identities change through the process of acculturation, this paper focuses on the ways in which societal forces encourage change and the

ways in which women actively resist being positioned in the traditional Lao gender roles. In this excerpt, Pha illustrates that women are the force behind changing gender roles in Lao families living in the U.S.:

Example 8:

1 Pha: In heres, um, Laos Laos people, is uh,
2 man, right? Man is uh, they want to do the same thing
3 but the woman who's live heres long, about two, three years,
4 they know about Americans law,
5 and if husbands go out, have girlfriend
6 or have second wife, something like that,
7 and the wife's at home, they know about husband do like that.
8 They impatient, they go out too. They have boyfriend, too.
9 If husband say get divorced, they don't care. They get divorced.

Pha states in Example 8, Line 2 that men would prefer to retain traditional gender roles, but women actively resist this maintenance. This demonstrates Ochs' statement that individuals actively construct their social identity, rather than "live out a cultural prescription." However, women's ability to struggle actively for change hinges on their knowledge of and access to resources like "American law". Later in the interview, when Pha was again asked about the process by which Lao women change in the U.S., she responded:

Example 9:

1 D: How women change so much.
2 It doesn't make sense to me.
3 P: Um, because in here, is have police,
4 have friends, have, uh, communities,
5 help them about make the, make the woman stronger.
6 D: Huh, that's interesting.
7 P: But in Laos, nothing to help them about make them stronger.
8 Only tell her, patient and patient,
9 you is a woman, you is a mother.
10 You have to patient.
11 You cannot do anything except patient.
12 But in here
13 D: So that's what people would tell
14 P: Husband work, don't give me money,

15 I can work, too.
16 The companies want me to work, too, right?

In this excerpt Pha clarifies the effect of material resources on women's lives and on their ability to refuse the positioning of traditional gender roles. She mentions the importance of police, referring to an earlier comment that Laotian women learn that they can call the police if they are being beaten by their husband or boyfriend, a resource not available to women in Laos. She also stresses the importance of friends, communities, and access to paid work which support women and "make them stronger", enabling them to make new choices about how they realize their roles as women in the U.S.

Pha's Stance on Women's Roles in the U.S.

In order to examine Pha's stance on Laotian women's roles in the U.S., this paper examines conflicting comments she made about women's role as wife and contrast these with her comments about women's role as mother. Contrasting these perspectives provides a more complete and multifaceted perspective of Pha's stance on women's shifting gender role identities.

Pha identifies herself as a woman who embodies many of the traditional values of Lao culture. In a number of conversations, she referenced her adherence to the sociocultural rules for Lao women as daughter, wife, and mother. She maintains that she is raising her children, "the Lao way," stating, "I still love my culture, my tradition. I still do the same way in my country." In casual conversations with her and her husband, both spoke longingly of returning to Laos when the political situation becomes more favorable. At the same time, many of her comments about women's roles in Laos indicate a critical stance about women's lack of agency and a positive stance toward women's comparatively greater freedom in the U.S. When asked what she thought about women's roles in the U.S., Pha said:

Example 10:

1 P: I think it's very good thing.
2 I like America, I love America
3 because womans have freedom.
4 When I miss my country,
5 I think I want to go back,
6 but I think about not freedom,
7 D: Hmmm.
8 P: I don't want to go back.

This statement indicates a positive affective stance toward gender role constructions in the U.S. which are consistent with her previous comments about Lao women being "very happy" in the U.S. Because in earlier conversations she highlighted the difficulties which new gender roles place on Lao families, it was surprising that her response to life in the U.S. was so positive and unqualified. When asked about comments she had made earlier about high divorce rates for Lao families in the U.S. and some women's habit of staying out late and not taking care of their children, Pha acknowledged that these were problems. She commented that she felt they were caused by women's greater freedom in the U.S. However, she did not address the seeming contradictions between these two comments.

Although Pha states clearly that she perceives women's new roles in relationships as a positive step, when exploring women's agency in the role of mother, a very different theme emerges which serves to complicate the theme of greater agency in the U.S., as well as her positive stance on women's increased freedom. In an attempt to explore Lao women's role as agent in Laos, Pha was asked "What do women control, or what do women get to decide in Laos?" She made clear that women have no control in the husband-wife relationship, reiterating much of what she had said earlier about men's control over women. It wasn't until she was explicitly asked "Who controls the children in a family?" that Pha stated that women control chil-

dren in the family. Pha discussed decisions about and care for children more as a responsibility which fell to the woman than a right or locus of control.

Later in the same interview, however, Pha spoke of the honor and respect which children accord both parents in a traditional Lao family.

Example 11:

1 D: How would parents and children act in Laos?
2 P: Yeah, I, um, I think it's very, very different.
3 In Laos, the childrens is very honor for parents, for their parents.
4 They talk parents, good and politely.
5 And they do everything for parents.
6 But in here, the children never help parents.
7 I don't know.

This passage demonstrates that a Lao mother expects respect, honor, and assistance from her children. Although Pha does not explicitly state that this was a site of control, her following comments suggesting that she has lost control over her children in the U.S., indicate that control over their children is an important site of agency for Lao women.

Example 12:

1 P: Now I stay confusing about children.
2 (Pause)
3 D: What do you mean?
4 P: I thought is I lose O. now.
5 But, I still control second one.
6 D: Hmm. Do you think you've lost him?
7 P: Yeah, I think I lost him.
8 D: That's sad.
9 P: Too late for me help.
10 D: Yeah, that's sad.
11 P: But, I don't want my second son do like him.
12 D: Um-hmm. (Pause)
13 Yeah, it's hard.
14 P: I don't know what happened.
15 This morning we has conversation
16 about, uh, children. in America. Why?

17 We don't know.
18 The Cambodians, they don't know too.
19 But, I don't know too.
20 The children in here,
21 when they go to school and come back home,
22 they get, they stay in their room,
23 they don't want to talk with parents.
24 Every children, every parents say like that.
25 D: Hmm, every parent in the class said that?
26 P: Why they don't want to talk with parents?
27 Sometimes a whole days,
28 they, they don't talk to parents,
29 they don't talk to me.
30 D: Or to your husband?
31 Pha: Yeah.
32 D: The same?
33 P: The same.
34 They don't want to talk,
35 and they don't want to talk Lao, too.
36 The only want to talk together in English in their room.

This excerpt illustrates Pha's perception that she has lost one son, retaining tenuous control over the younger one. Her inability to exert influence and to make decisions for her children is a great source of sadness for her, which reflects her loss of this aspect of her agency as a woman. Pha's statements about children evidence a confusion about how to raise children in this new culture, particularly because the children do not want to talk to their parents.

The theme of talk was highlighted in the excerpt above in which Lao children demonstrate their respect for parents through talking "good and politely." In an earlier conversation, Pha emphasized the importance of talk in communicating rules in order to raise "good" children: "Parents, daughters following their culture, their tradition. And talk everyday, talk, talk, talk, and talk. Talk for that daughter, tell daughter, following their culture." Talk functions as a vehicle through which Lao parents inform children about their culture and their appropriate roles, as well as a vehicle through which children

demonstrate their respect and adherence to tradition. Pha's children's seeming refusal to talk with their parents and to speak Lao, demonstrates both a loss of language and a loss of culturally appropriate behavior. Pha's inability to talk to her children, positioning herself as the one possessing knowledge and the purveyor of traditional culture, signifies a great loss of control in her role as a woman.

Conclusion

Pha's acculturation process seems to have included significant gains and losses in her positioning as agent. She sees herself and other Laotian women in the U.S. as having gained control in the public sphere through access to paid work, welfare, community support, and police protection, contributing to their ability to assert their independence and agency within marriage. However, she also perceives herself as having lost control of the one aspect of agency so intimately connected to her construction of what it means to be a Lao woman, the ability to guide and instruct her own children.

Pha's stance on the process of acculturation as a confusing process fraught with both advantages and deep loss is not uncommon. Smith-Hefner's ethnography of Khmer refugee parents in the U.S. speaks to this difficult process:

> As they watch [their] children rapidly and seemingly effortlessly becoming fluent in English, many Khmer parents are beginning to wonder what is being lost in the process. Issues of language and identity are central to their concern. (Smith-Hefner 1990: 254)

Pha's reflections on her own changing identity have crucial implications for how ESL teachers can address students' concerns throughout the process of acculturation. Although many ESL texts

make an effort to discuss "culture," this is often only a surface attempt with activities centered around discussion of cultural holidays, gestures, or foods. Although these activities may be useful for students who are newly arrived in the U.S., they fail to address the concerns of students like Pha who have lived in the U.S. for a longer period of time and are familiar with many of these differences. For these students it is the more deeply held, less obvious aspects of culture, like gender roles and parenting practices, which are of greater concern.

For ESL teachers to begin to explore the ways in which the process of acculturation affects deep aspects of a student's culture and for policy makers to make appropriate choices to fund organizations which can support this process, the field must learn more about the lived experience of acculturation from the perspective of immigrant and refugee families. In so doing, we must take into account the multitude of situated identities which shift in this process and the ways in which women like Pha experience significant identity shifts in the their roles of mother, wife, and daughter.

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The universality of face in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory: A Japanese perspective

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In 1978, Brown and Levinson published their politeness theory, claiming it to be universal. Since that time, much research has been conducted to determine the limitations of this theory. This paper examines research which has been done on politeness strategies in Japanese to see how relevant the theory is now.

When people are involved in conversations, they individually consider certain variables, whether consciously or sub-consciously, that help them determine the form that their speech will take. In 1955, Goffman called these variables "face," and defined it as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1955: 213). In 1978, Brown and Levinson, using Goffman's definition of "face" as a starting point, proposed a comprehensive and, according to Brown and Levinson, universal theory of politeness. Since that time, researchers have been working to refine the definition of face and adapt this politeness theory, in order to decide whether or not the definition - and therefore, the theory - is universal. This paper discusses research that has been conducted since the theory was first published, looking especially at research that has compared face in Japanese politeness strategies and English politeness strategies, in an attempt to determine the present status of the theory.

Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

Brown and Levinson define face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (1978: 66). They then divide face into two separate, but related aspects - positive face and negative face - which they define in terms of wants that every person knows every other person has, and knows are in his best interest to, at least partially, satisfy (1978: 67). Tracy explains, "positive face concerns the desire to be appreciated and approved of by selected others. Negative face concerns a person's want to be unimpeded and free from imposition" (Tracy 1990: 210).

When an act of verbal or non-verbal communication "run[s] contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 70), this is called a "face-threatening act" (FTA). An example of a speech act that threatens the hearer's (H's) negative face would be a request, because this means that the speaker (S) is impeding on H by asking H not to do what H wants, but rather to do what S wants (Fasold 1990: 161). On the other hand, a speech act that threatens H's positive face would be "a contradiction or expression of disagreement, which means the speaker thinks there is something wrong with an opinion held by the hearer" (Fasold 1990: 161). As mentioned above, S's negative or positive face may also be threatened. This could happen in the case of an offer, which would threaten S's negative face because if she carries out the offer, she would be meeting H's wants and not necessarily her own wants (Fasold 1990: 161). S's positive face would be threatened in the case of confessions, admissions of guilt, and apologies, where the speaker is admitting that she has done something that is not expected (or not done something that is expected) of her (Fasold 1990: 161).

Brown and Levinson base their theory on the acceptance of the two assumptions stated above, that is, everyone has both negative

face and positive face, and both of these aspects of face are, at times, threatened by another (Brown & Levinson 1978: 63, and Fasold 1990: 161). Another assumption Brown and Levinson make is that the speaker is "endowed with ... a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 63). These assumptions are crucial to their theory because they believe that a person will consider the best politeness strategy possible before performing an FTA.

The strategies which they discuss can be grouped into five superstrategies which are given in the chart below (the higher the number of the strategy, the more polite it is).

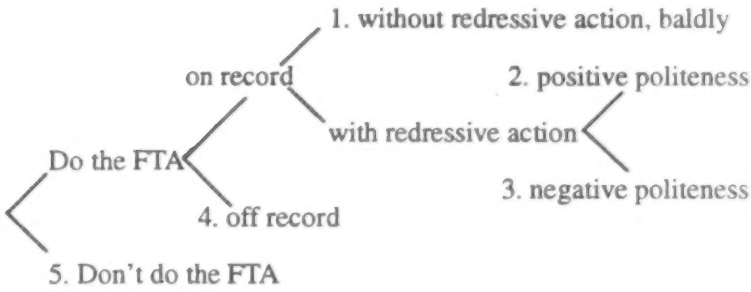

Figure 1: Five Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson 1978: 74)

The first distinction that should be made here is between doing an FTA on record (strategies 1, 2, and 3) and doing it off record (strategy 4). The term "on record" is used when an expression has "one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur"; on the other hand, the term "off record" is used when an expression can have "more than one unambiguously attributable intention" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 73-74). For example, if person A wanted to borrow person B's car and said, "May I borrow your car, tomorrow?" she would be going on record because the request to

borrow B's car is unambiguous; however, if she said, "I need to pick up my friend at the airport tomorrow, but I don't have a car," she would be going off record because there is no explicit request.

Doing an act baldly, without redressive action (strategy 1) "involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 74). To do the FTA baldly in the above example, person A might say, "Lend me your car, tomorrow!" Doing an act with redressive action (strategies 2 and 3) means "'giv[ing] face' to the addressee" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 74). This can mean doing the act using 'positive politeness' (strategy 2), "oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive image that he claims for himself," or using 'negative politeness'[1] (strategy 3), "oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (Brown & Levinson 1978: 75). To do the FTA given above using positive politeness, person A might say, "Hey, that's a great suit you have on! Is it new? (. . .) By the way, may I borrow your car, tomorrow?" (adapted from Brown & Levinson 1978: 108). By asking about person B's suit, person A would be showing that she is interested in something that person B presumably finds desirable , for example, the suit. On the other hand, to do it using negative politeness, person A might say, "You couldn't by any chance loan me your car, tomorrow, could you?" (adapted from Brown & Levinson 1978: 141). In this case, person A is trying to partially satisfy person B's desire to not be imposed upon by implying that she does not think he can loan her the car.

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[1]Tracy (1990) states that only negative politeness is "similar to what people in everyday life mean by 'being polite,'" while positive politeness is a "communicative way of building solidarity, showing the other is liked and seen as desirable" (pp. 211-212).

It is not justifiable, however, to always choose the most polite strategy, because "that will imply that the act is more face threatening than it actually is" (Fasold 1990: 162); therefore, S must decide which strategy to use. This decision is based on three factors (Brown & Levinson 1978: 79):

> 1) the 'social distance' (D) of S [the speaker] and H [the hearer] (a symmetric relation) [For example, with a friend there is not a great social distance; however, there is with a stranger.]
>
> 2) the relative 'power' (P) of S and H (an asymmetric relation) [For example, a friend does not hold the same position of power as does the President.]
>
> 3) the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture [For example, asking someone to borrow a quarter would not be as great an imposition as asking that person to borrow one hundred dollars.]

Whenever S intends to do an FTA, she must first take into account these three factors in order to decide which strategy to employ. It is the third factor that Brown and Levinson use to allow for different cultures to fall into their universal theory.

In discussing how people from different cultures would implement their politeness strategy, they introduce the term "ethos", defined as "the affective quality of interaction characteristic of members of a society." (Brown & Levinson 1978: 248). Since different cultures embody differences in ethos, certain cultures will have a tendency towards one or another of the five main politeness strategies. For example, they claim that the U.S. is a positive-politeness culture because the level of weightiness of any given FTA remains relatively low, while Japan is a negative-politeness culture because the people tend to be more "standoffish" (1978: 250)[2]. Characterizing a culture as a positive-politeness or negative-politeness culture does not mean that that strategy is the only strategy used, but only

[2]On page 249, Brown and Levinson do allow that their hypothesis "may of course be wrong."

that it is more prevalent within that culture. Thus, while claiming that their theory is universal, Brown and Levinson have allowed for the differences in strategy selection that may arise across cultures.

Research since the publication of the Politeness Theory

One criticism that Tracy (1990) has made of the politeness theory is that it needs to take into account "the way selection of facework strategies in situated social roles (e.g. teacher - student) seems to be based on rights and obligations, rather than on an abstract computation of distance, intimacy, and rank" (p. 216). In 1986, Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, and Ogino looked at this point as it related to individuals in different cultures. They replaced the terms 'distance', 'power', and 'rank', with the term 'discernment' (translated from the Japanese term *wakimae*), which refers to the accepted social rules (both verbal and non-verbal) within a given situation. They also introduced the idea of 'volition', which allows a speaker to choose the correct way to act in any given situation (1986: 348). These two new terms allowed the researchers to look at how much speech is obligatory in a situation in a given culture (discernment), and how much variation in speech is allowable in a situation in a given culture (volition). Hill, et al., found that Brown and Levinson's theory was not deficient with regard to the selection of face work strategies based on rights and obligations and seemed to hold true across cultures.

In their research, Hill, et al. (1986) first asked a small group of university students from both Japan and America to answer three questions:

1) List the people you commonly meet.

2) List all the expressions you use in borrowing a pen.

3) List all the expressions you use in asking the time (p. 354).

From the data they received they created a survey which they gave to a much larger group of university students in each country. This survey asked the students to rank the expressions used for borrowing a pen (20 in Japanese; 22 in English) on a scale from 1-5, where 1 meant being most uninhibited and 5 meant being most careful.[3] The students were also asked to rank the people addressed along a similar scale ranging from the person with whom you are most uninhibited to the person with whom you are most careful. Finally, the students were asked to choose the expression(s) they would use with each person addressed. At this point, it is important to mention that the data gathered is not from actual recorded conversations, but only native speakers' impressions of how they would use their languages in given situations. Hill et al. state that the data were collected in this manner in order to gather "a large sample in two countries" (1986: 353). While this point should not in any way discredit the research done, it should be taken into consideration that this method allowed students to respond with more than one request when in the real situation only one request would be given. This consideration comes into play mainly where they state that the average number of responses for each addressee differed between languages (2.55 for Americans; 1.01 for Japanese) (1986: 360).

In the figures given, Hill et al. (1986) show that, while there are similarities between American and Japanese uses of politeness strategies in different situations, for example, in neither language were expressions considered to be most uninhibited used with persons with whom one would be most careful, or vice-versa, there is a great disparity in the agreement made on the proper request for each addressee.

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[3]The term 'uninhibited' was explained within the survey to mean "when being most uninhibited (relaxed) in speech", while the term 'careful' was explained as "being most careful in speech" (1986; 352).

In Japanese, the agreement on the proper request for each addressee is very high, while in American English the agreement is low. Hill et al. attribute this difference to the difference between the roles of discernment and volition within the politeness strategy selection process of each language.

While both discernment and volition need to be used in any given situation, the weight given to each will vary among cultures; therefore, in Japanese, discernment is the primary consideration when choosing a politeness strategy, and volition is secondary. On the other hand, in American English, volition is the primary consideration, and discernment is secondary (1986: 362). It is this distinction that creates the disparity in agreement, and "lend[s] empirical support to the hypothesis of Brown and Levinson that D(istance) and P(ower) are two major elements operating" in the selection of an appropriate politeness strategy when performing an FTA (1986: 363).

More fundamental than Tracy's criticism of Brown and Levinson's theory is that raised by both Matsumoto (1988) and Mao (1994). They claim that Brown and Levinson's initial assumption that all members of society have both negative and positive face is not necessarily universal (Matsumoto 1988: 405 and Mao 1994). This criticism, although culturally based, can be seen as being related to Tracy's (1990) criticism mentioned above. Within Japanese society, people who hold certain positions are expected to meet certain obligations in relation to people who hold lower positions, and, therefore, when asked to meet these obligations by a person in a lower position, the person in a higher position would not deem this as an imposition (Matsumoto 1988: 410).

In stating her position, Matsumoto gives examples of "Formulaic expressions as 'relation-acknowledging devices'" (1988: 409). She explains that these formulaic expressions are the basis for Japanese

politeness strategy (1988: 413) - a position echoed in the findings by Hill et al. that Japanese speakers opt for "specific linguistic forms, at a conventional level of politeness" after assessing "the factors of addressee status and general situation relative to speaker's own" (1986: 362). What she asserts is that Japanese people do not try to avoid imposing on others, but make statements that might be perceived, by a non-Japanese, as an imposition, in order to acknowledge the addressee's higher rank (1988: 410). The reason for this convention is that, in Japanese society, it is understood that a person of lower rank is dependent on a person of higher rank; thus, by expressing one's dependence on another, one raises, or reaffirms, the other's relative position (1988: 410). One example of this that she gives is the expression "Syuzin o doozo yorosiku onegaisimasu. [(lit.) 'I ask you to please treat/take care of my husband well.']" which would be said by a woman when speaking to her husband's boss (1988: 410). Matsumoto admits that such expressions might be considered examples of positive politeness because they "enhance the addressee's face", but claims that this is not the case because "it is not done straight-forwardly," and there is no "manifestation of intimacy" (Matsumoto 1986: 410). Therefore, in Japanese culture, negative face, as defined by Brown and Levinson (not wanting others to disturb you), is hard to validate.

Mao (1994) uses both Matsumoto's claims and Brown and Levinson's claims to present a new definition of face, "the relative face orientation" (1994: 471). The relative face orientation may be defined as:

> an underlying direction of face that emulates, though never completely attaining, one of two interactional ideals that may be salient in a given speech community: the ideal social identity, or the ideal indi-

> vidual autonomy. The specific content of face in a given speech community is determined by one of these two interactional ideals sanctioned by the members of the community." (1994: 472)

What Mao is saying is that there are two views of face, individual (Brown & Levinson 1978) and social (Matsumoto 1988, and Mao 1994), and in any given society each view exists; however, one view may be more prevalent than the other. Only when this distinction is made can we understand the strategies that people from different cultures use in being polite. This new definition of face not only addresses the criticisms of Matsumoto (1988) and Mao (1994), but, since it introduces the idea of a social face, also addresses Tracy's (1990) criticism concerning rights and obligations, which can be seen as an individual's expectations of society and its members.

A considerable amount of work has been done in the area of politeness and face; however, still more needs to be done before any definite conclusions can be drawn. In light of the criticisms of Brown and Levinson's theory discussed above, it is now necessary to look at how a theory can incorporate these new definitions and understandings.

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Learning grammar in the United States: A case of Japanese students

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This is a pilot study on Japanese students' perceptions of grammar instruction in the United States. While many Japanese students attend American intensive language classrooms which have adopted communicative language teaching, they have mostly been exposed to traditional grammar-translation instruction at home. There seems to be little research on these students' perceptual gaps in reference to classrooms with different methodologies. Through questionnaire surveys and observations, Japanese students in American classrooms revealed positive attitudes toward communicative language instruction.

The role of grammar instruction in language teaching has been a controversial issue among language educators during the last two decades. In the mid-1970s, when many TESOL researchers began to value communicative competence as the objective of language education, traditional explicit grammar instruction was challenged (Celce-Murcia 1991: 460). Indeed, researchers, such as Krashen and Terrell, have questioned the role of explicit grammar instruction (Richards & Rodgers 1986: 128), because of their belief that an L2 learner acquires a second language as naturally as a child acquires his first language.

However, other researchers, such as Doughty (1991) and Long (1983), suggest that formal grammar instruction does accelerate adult learners' acquisition of a second language. These researchers currently define grammar instruction as a useful means of language learn-

ing. They consider that instruction of linguistic structures should be integrated with other linguistic perspectives such as semantics and pragmatics (Celce-Murcia 1991: 446-469; Larsen-Freeman 1989: 188-189; Savignon 1991: 268-269). They also believe that grammatical knowledge is a linguistic skill which will enable students to communicate in the target language. This interpretation of communicative language teaching embraces interactive classroom settings and encourages learners' participation in the class. Although it is difficult to develop teaching materials for these classrooms and to promote students' activities in class, some American ESL classrooms have begun to adopt this approach to teaching English (Savignon 1991: 264-267).

While some ESL teachers have promoted communicative language teaching in their classrooms in the United States, many Japanese teachers of English still adhere to the grammar-translation method (McKay 1992: 103). Since teachers and students consider success in entrance examinations for high schools and colleges to be an important goal in academic settings and believe that knowledge of grammatical rules influences the results of foreign language exams, they tend to consider mastering grammar as the primary goal of learning English (McKay 1992: 102-103). Although Christensen (as cited in McKay 1992: 103) suggests that the Japanese need to alter their teaching method from a grammar-translation approach to a reading-centered approach, the majority of Japanese teachers and students believe that the grammar-translation method is the best approach (McKay 1992: 103).

Recently, the number of Japanese students who have come to the U.S. to study English has been increasing (Tsuyuki 1991: 1063). They constitute a large proportion of foreign students in American intensive English language classrooms. They may encounter two fea-

tures of language classrooms that are different from those in Japan: intensive instruction by native English speakers and a communicative approach to teaching English. These differences may have a great impact on these Japanese students' attitudes toward language learning; however, there is little research on this issue.

This study examines a small number of Japanese students' attitudes toward grammar instruction by native speakers of English. Attitude is one of the potential sources of matches and mismatches between the teacher's intention and students' interpretations (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 35). When the perceptions match, there will be positive interaction in the classroom; however, if they do not match, there may be a breakdown in the class activity (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 34-35). The rationale behind grammar instruction in American ESL classrooms, based on American teachers' common belief in communicative language teaching, reveals significant and evident differences from that of English classrooms in Japan; thus, looking at Japanese students' attitudes toward grammar instruction by American teachers in ESL will provide valuable insights for curriculum design and evaluation for American ESL classrooms and English education in Japan.

Method

The subjects were six Japanese students studying English as a foreign language at an intensive English program (here referred to as IEP) at an urban university. They had reached the intermediate proficiency level of the Reading/Writing class. This class emphasized reading-writing connections and, especially, writing in the context of theme-based reading (S. Reid, personal communication, 1994). In order to equip students with grammatical accuracy, grammar was taught explicitly in the Reading/Writing class. This class also used

communicative and interactive approaches to teaching English. Therefore, the teachers, referred to as Teacher A and Teacher B, used interactive activities in their classrooms (S. Reid, personal communication, 1994).

Assessment of the attitudes of Japanese students toward grammar instruction was studied from two perspectives: first, the subjects' answers to two questionnaires, and second, the researcher's observation of the subjects' activities and grammatical performances in class. There were two intermediate Reading/Writing classes; the researcher attended each class once on October 13, 1994, in order to see how teachers used the grammar textbook and how students actually learned English in the classroom.

The subjects were asked to answer two questionnaires outside of class time. The Japanese language was used in each one so that subjects could fully understand the questions and express their feelings as accurately as possible. The first questionnaire, which had eight open-ended questions and three multiple-choice questions, was given on October 14, 1994; the second one, which had seven open-ended questions and 40 multiple-choice questions, was administered on November 10 and 11, 1994. The researcher decided to use a second questionnaire for two reasons. First, not enough students returned the first questionnaire, and second, she found that the questions in the first questionnaire were too broad. The first questionnaire (see Appendix for an English translation) elicited information from students about their general backgrounds, as well as their feelings and opinions about grammar instruction in Japan and the IEP curriculum. The second questionnaire (see Appendix for an English translation) shared the same concept as the first. There were three open-ended questions in which the subjects were asked to express their ideas about grammar instruction in Japan and their opinions on taking classes at IEP.

The second questionnaire had two significant question categories: expectation questions and perception questions. The expectation questions concerned subjects' motives for learning English and possible purposes for coming to the U.S.[1] The subjects were asked to evaluate the reasons for studying English and to coming to the U.S. (see Appendix, Questionnaire 2, Parts 3 and 4). The perception questions related to the subjects' reactions toward grammar instructions in each country. The subjects were asked to evaluate the English classes in each setting. (see Appendix, Questionnaire 2, Parts 5 and 6.)

These questions were placed on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "very much so" to "not at all." Through the expectation questions, the researcher hoped to see what kind of English (e.g., communicative or structural) they expected to learn. Through the perception questions, she expected to assess their attitudes and preferences toward different approaches to grammar instruction.

Results and Discussion

The demographic questions in the second questionnaire show the Japanese students' backgrounds. All have studied English for six years during their compulsory high school education and for some additional years (the average is 1.83 years) either in higher educational institutes or language schools. All have been in the U.S. for less than six months.

Their major interests, according to their responses in the questionnaire, in studying English relate to integrative motivation (McKay 1992: 25-27). They share, for example, strong interests in English

[1]In the process of designing the expectation questions, the researcher used as a reference the questionnaire which was used to assess attitudes of Chinese students of ESL and Japanese students of EFL by Oller, Hudson, and Liu (1977) and Chihara and Oller (1978).

language, literature, and culture (#15 in Table 1). Three students have foreign friends who motivated them to learn English (#12 in Table 1). On the other hand, they do not show instrumental motivation (McKay 1992: 25-27) in learning English with the exception of the reason "getting a better job" (#14 in Table 1). Two of the six students answered that preparing for exams in Japan was not a reason to study English.

Their major reasons for coming to the U.S. relate to their interests

Table 1: Reasons to learn English

	Most	Very	Some	Little	Not at all
9. necessary for exams	1	1	1	1	2
10. required at school	1	2	2	1	—
11. wished to come to the U.S.	2	1	1	1	1
12. had American/foreign friends	1	2	—	2	1
13. to enjoy traveling abroad	—	3	1	—	2
14. to get a better job	—	3	—	1	2
15. interested in English language, literature, and culture	1	4	—	1	—

in learning English; many of them are interested in meeting many different people (#23 in Table 2). Their high evaluations of "coming to the U.S." (#11 in Table 1) as a reason for studying English coincide with their high evaluations of "learning English" (#22 in Table 2) as reasons for coming to the U.S.

In general, the students' interests in English seem to come from their curiosity about international and/or intercultural matters. Half of them expressed interest in living (#20 in Table 2) and traveling (#13 in Table 1) abroad in relation to learning English. Along with their high interests in American culture, we can probably assume that the students are interested in communicating and interacting with Americans as well as with other foreigners.Their attitudes toward learning English relate to the styles of English teaching in the two countries. There is an interesting contrast between styles of English grammar instruction in Japan and in the U.S. The students think

Table 2: Reasons to come to the U.S.

	Most	Very	Some	Little	Not at all
16. to see U.S. society	—	—	2	3	1
17. to get an education/degree	1	1	—	2	2
18. to join a family member	—	1	1	—	4
19. to be away from Japan	1	—	2	1	2
20. to live abroad	2	1	2	1	—
21. parents want me to go abroad	1	1	1	1	2
22. to learn English	2	3	—	—	1
23. to meet many people	2	3	—	1	—

grammar instruction in Japan is not very helpful in terms of actual language skills. Some students gave positive evaluations of grammar instruction in regard to reading and writing; however, others gave negative evaluations to the same categories (#27-30 in Table 3). While they negatively evaluated grammar instruction in Japan, these Japanese students positively evaluated the grammar instruction they received in the U.S. (#39-42 in Table 4). Four of the six students thought that grammar instruction in Japan was helpful for preparation for exams (#31 in Table 3), while one of the five students thought instruction in the U.S. was somewhat helpful for exam preparation (#43 in Table 4). While half of the students thought they learned "little" in the area of useful language rules in Japan, all students thought that they learned "very" or "somewhat" useful language rules in American classrooms (#24 in Table 3 and #36 in Table 4).

The students' reactions to the languages used for grammar instruction were interesting; explanations of grammar in Japanese did not help all students. Only half of the students answered that grammatical explanations in Japanese were of some help (#25 in Table 3). In the first questionnaire, one student commented, "I prefer grammatical explanations in Japanese because I am capable of understanding such explanations now." This comment may indicate that students are overwhelmed with grammatical terminology even in their native language. As for the question about instructional language in

Table 3[2]: Evaluation of English Grammar class in Japan

	Most	Very	Some	Little	Not at all
24. learn useful rules of English	—	—	3	3	—
25. explanations in Japanese were helpful	—	1	3	2	—
26. examples from teacher were helpful	—	—	2	3	—
27. useful for reading English	—	2	—	4	—
28. useful for writing English	—	4	—	—	2
29. useful for hearing English	—	—	1	1	4
30. useful for speaking English	—	—	1	1	4
31. useful for preparing for exams	—	4	2	—	—
32. textbook was interesting	—	1	1	2	2
33. the class was mechanical	2	1	1	—	2
34. the class was conversational	—	—	—	1	4
35. enjoyed doing assignments	—	1	1	1	3

the U.S., half of the students think explanations in English are of some help (#37 in Table 4). In the first questionnaire, three of the five students who responded to the question about explanations in English by saying that they "sometimes cannot understand what teachers say." Those who made negative comments about explanations in English in the first questionnaire also mentioned that they sometimes became confused when they compared the explanations given in American classrooms and in Japanese classrooms. They sometimes thought that their understandings of grammar and usage contradicted the explanations from American teachers. According to the first questionnaire, the Japanese students thought their grammar textbook in this program was easier than those they used in Japan. In American classrooms, they seemed to appreciate the teachers' examples; two of the five students thought the examples were most helpful (#38 in Table 4).

Undoubtedly, these Japanese students enjoy studying English in a communicative setting because this fits their major interests. For

[2]Some students did not answer some of the questions in this section.

Table 4[3]: Evaluation of English class at IEP (R/W class)

	Most	Very	Some	Little	Not at all
36. learn useful rules of English	—	3	2	—	—
37. explanations in English were helpful	—	—	2	2	—
38. examples from teacher were helpful	2	—	1	2	—
39. useful for reading English	1	2	2	—	—
40. useful for writing English	1	2	—	2	—
41. useful for hearing English	—	2	2	1	—
42. useful for speaking English	2	1	1	—	1
43. useful for preparing for exams	—	—	1	2	1
44. textbook was interesting	—	2	2	1	—
45. the class was mechanical	—	—	1	1	3
46. the class was conversational	2	1	—	1	—
47. enjoyed doing assignments	—	—	1	1	2

most of them, learning grammar is less important. They evaluated grammar instruction as less important because they had less interest in succeeding in language exams. In one class the researcher observed[4], Teacher A gave a rather ambiguous explanation of a sentence from the grammar exercise. She commented that the following sentences are both correct: "Mr. Clark, an elementary school teacher, explained to his students that the sun rises in the east" and "Mr. Clark, an elementary school teacher, explained to his students that the sun rose in the east." She explained that the first sentence was correct because the subordinate clause was a permanent fact, and the second sentence was also correct because the main and subordinate clauses had tense agreement. A Korean student complained about this explanation because he wanted a concrete answer which he could apply to the TOEFL test. However, this was not the case with the Japanese students because they did not consider preparation for exams very important in the U.S. (see #43 in Table 4.). Indeed,

[3]One student did not answer this section at all. Some students did not answer some of the questions in this section

[4]Observation date: October 13, 1994

according to their answers in the first questionnaire, these Japanese students were not planning to pursue higher education in the U.S. (question # 5).

These Japanese students think learning English from an American teacher is advantageous and beneficial because they can more easily acquire communicative proficiency. Five of the six students answered positively to the open-ended question about learning English from an American teacher. They commented that learning from American teachers is helpful for improving their pronunciation and conversational skills. One student wrote that he enjoyed learning English from American teachers because he could use and practice the structures he learned in his conversation with them.

These answers probably affirm the value of "talking practice" in class[5]. After explaining the structures using the modal auxiliaries, "can" and "could," Teacher B let students choose partners and ask for information about what the partner could do at home that he could not do here in the U.S. For example, in response to his peer interviewer's question, "What could you do in Japan that you can't do now,"one Japanese student said, "I could taste good Japanese food," which elicited his peer's clarification question, "eat?" Once they began this activity, their questions and answers developed into a real conversation because the students did not give or receive simple answers. Sometimes they could not understand what their partners said because of other grammatical mistakes or cultural differences. As a result, they had to clarify what their partners said or ask for detailed explanations in order to get ready to present their responses to the class.

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[5]Observation date: October 13, 1994

Conclusion

Through this study, the researcher found that these Japanese students are more interested in learning communicative English and do not consider grammar as the primary goal of learning English. When English-speaking teachers gave grammatical instruction, these students took advantage of it to practice their communicative proficiency. In reality, American intensive English teaching programs, which adopt a communicative approach, seem to provide Japanese students with what they seek — communicative language instruction. The students surveyed were satisfied with this type of program.

This study of Japanese students' attitudes toward and perceptions of explicit grammar instruction in an American language institute in comparison to those in English classrooms in Japan gives us some insights about communicative language teaching. First, the Japanese students' affirmation of the IEP curriculum may be a good sign for further promotion of communicative language teaching in ESL classrooms. When combined with an interactive task, structural practice becomes a meaningful activity and an effective integration of grammar with other language skills. Second, the Japanese educational system might need to adjust its plans for English language instruction and methodology because there seems to be diversity in Japanese students' motivations for learning English.

It is, however, insufficient and even dangerous to draw generalizations in terms of English education both in the U.S. and in Japan from this survey of six Japanese subjects in one American language institute. We should not ignore the fact that many Japanese students in Japan are preparing for examinations and may have different needs and perceptions of language education. In order to generalize Japanese students' perceptions of English grammar instruction and its role, we need more subjects and further study in different settings in the U.S. and in Japan.

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Appendix

Questionnaire 1

1. How long did you study English in Japan? _____
2. Where and how did you study English in Japan? (Choose multiple selections if necessary.)
   a) High school and College
   b) Special English/Language School
   c) Self-study by radio, TV, and/or Cassette tapes
   d) Other (specify)
3. What did you think of English grammar instruction in high school?
   a) I liked it.
   b) I did not like it, but I studied English hard.
   c) I did not like it, so I did not study English hard.
   d) Other.
4. How long have you been in the U.S.? (How many months? How many years?)
5. Why do you attend this intensive English program at this university?
6. What do you think of the Reading/Writing class in the IEP?
7. What do you think of the grammar textbook, *Grammar Plus*? Do you think it is easy or difficult? Do you like it or not? Why and why not?
8. What do you think when the teacher in the IEP gives you grammatical explanations? (Choose multiple answers if necessary.)
   a) I can understand very well.
   b) I sometimes can not understand what she explains.
   c) I can not understand what she says.
   d) My grammatical knowledge from Japan helps me.
   e) I get confused because of my grammatical knowledge from Japan.
   f) Other opinions:
9. Do you think that the grammatical instruction you receive in the Reading/Writing class is helpful in terms of actual reading and writing? How?
10. Do you think that grammatical instruction you receive in the Reading/Writing class is helpful in terms of actual conversation outside of classroom?
11. How grammar instruction in the Reading/Writing class in the IEP is different from that in Japanese English grammar class? What do you suggest to make the IEP grammar instruction better?

Questionnaire 2

This question is designed to study attitudes of Japanese students toward English grammar instruction in the United States. Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge. Your answers will be kept in confidence. Thank you for your cooperation.

Part 1

Answer the following questions.

1. Sex
2. Age
3. How many years have you spent studying English in Japan? (Include all kinds of schools.)_____ years.
4. In which educational institute did you study English in Japan?
   a) Junior High
   b) Senior High
   c) Language School
   d) Two-year College (Major:)
   e) Four-year College (Major:)
5. How long have you been in the United States? _____ years _____ months

Part 2

Answer the following questions.

6. What do you think of English education, especially grammar instruction, in Japan?
7. What do you think about learning English from native English speakers?
8. What do you think of this intensive English program?

Part 3

Listed below are some of the reasons people have for learning English as a foreign language. Please indicate by choosing the appropriate number from the scale how important each reason is for YOU PERSONALLY.

Each number of the scale indicates the degree as follows:

1. most important
2. very important
3. quite important
4. a little important
5. not at all important

9. To pass school entrance exams.
   (most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)

10.Was required to study English in high school.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
11.Had long planned to come to the U.S.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
12.Had American/foreign friends before coming here.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
13.In order to enjoy traveling abroad.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
14.In order to get a better job.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
15.Interested in English language, literature, culture.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)

Part 4

Listed below are some of the reasons people have for coming to the United States to study. Please indicate by choosing the appropriate number from the scale, how important each reason is for YOU PERSONALLY.
Each number of the scale indicates the degree as follow:

1.most important
2.very important
3.quite important
4.a little important
5.not at all important

16.Seeing U.S. society.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
17.Getting an education or a degree in the U.S.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
18.Joining a family member here in the U.S.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
19.Having a chance to be away from home.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
20.Having a chance to live in another country.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
21.Parents wanted me to come.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
22.Learning English.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
23.Meeting many different people.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)

Part 5

Think of each sentence listed below as it might relate to English Grammar class that YOU attended IN JAPAN. Indicate by choosing an appropriate number from the scale how much degree you agree with the sentence.
Each number of the scale indicates the degree as follow:

1.most
2.very
3.quite
4.a little
5.not at all

24.I learned useful rules of the English language in the class.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
25.Teacher's explanations were easy to understand because of the language used.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
26.Teacher's explanations were easy to understand because of the examples.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
27.The class was helpful for reading English books.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
28.The class was helpful for writing English compositions.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
29.The class was helpful for listening to spoken English.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
30.The class was helpful for speaking in English.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
31.The class was useful for preparing for exams.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
32.The textbook was interesting.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
33.The class was mechanical
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
34.The class was communicative.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
35.Doing assignments was enjoyable
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)

Part 6

Think of each word listed below as it might describe English Grammar instruction/materials that YOU have in Reading/ Writing class at IEP. Each number of the scale indicates the degree as follows:

1.most
2.very
3.quite
4.a little
5.not at all

36.I knew useful rules of the English language in the class.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
37. Teacher's explanations were easy to understand because of the language used.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
38.Teacher's explanations were easy to understand because of the examples.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
39.The class was helpful for reading English books.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
40.The class was helpful for writing English compositions.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
41.The class was helpful for listening to spoken English.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
42.The class was helpful for speaking in English.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
43.The class was useful for preparing for exams.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
44.The textbook was interesting.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
45.The class was mechanical
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
46.The class was communicative.
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)
47.Doing assignments was enjoyable
(most) 1———2———3———4———5 (not at all)

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